

21st CENTURY LANGUAGE POLICY IN JAMAICA AND
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

by

ANNA ELIZABETH CRESSWELL

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS BY RESEARCH

Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics
School of English, Drama and American & Canadian Studies
University of Birmingham
October 2018

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

Language rise models continue to play a role in world Englishes research but their potential to consider agency has not yet been applied in a complete manner. Existing research situates colonialism as the more salient variable in language rise but this assessment needs reviewing in order to determine its suitability for 21st century language policy. Language policy studies have centred around the activities of postcolonial nations in Asia; as such, the Caribbean is under-researched in comparison to these nations. This study addresses language attitudes in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language and to challenge the out-dated view that language rise, in modern day, is a result of colonialism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Paul Thompson, for the guidance and support he has provided over the last 12 months.

I would also like to acknowledge the Senate House Library, University of London in providing access to the data required to complete this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Rationale and aims	1
1.2 The use of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago	1
1.3 The way the thesis is organised	3
1.4 Key terms	4
1.4.1 Language policy and planning	5
1.4.2 Language rise and language spread	5
1.4.3 Colonisation	6
1.4.4 Postcolonialism and postcolonial Englishes	6
1.4.5 Globalisation	7
 CHAPTER 2 – HISTORICAL CONTEXT	 8
2.1 Overview	8
2.2 History before European colonisation	8
2.3 European first encounters of the Caribbean	10
2.4 European involvement in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago	16
2.4.1 Jamaica	16
2.4.2 Trinidad and Tobago	19
2.5 Chapter summary	22
 CHAPTER 3 – LANGUAGE CONTEXT IN JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	 24
3.1 Overview	24
3.2 Caribbean Creole languages	25
3.3 English Creoles and the Creole continuum	26
3.4 Language presence in Jamaica	27
3.5 Language presence in Trinidad and Tobago	28
3.6 Summary of language presence in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago	29
3.7 Sociolinguistic context of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago	31
3.8 Language planning	33
3.9 English in the Caribbean curriculum	35
3.10 Chapter summary	37
 CHAPTER 4 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	 39
4.1 Overview	39
4.2. Robert Phillipson, <i>Linguistic Imperialism</i>	39
4.2.1 Aims and motivations	40
4.2.3 Approach	41
4.2.3 Results	42
4.2.4 Summary	44
4.3 Alastair Pennycook, <i>The Cultural Politics of English as an International</i>	45

<i>language and The Discourses of Colonialism</i>	
4.3.1 Aims and motivations	45
4.3.2 Approach	46
4.3.3 Results	47
4.4 Crusoe myth	49
4.5 Summary of Phillipson and Pennycook	50
4.6 Challenges of Phillipson's and Pennycook's assessments	51
4.7 The notion of 'agency'	53
4.8 ELT and the British Council	56
4.9 Other work surrounding world English attitudes	58
4.10 Views from West Indian native scholars	60
4.11 Chapter summary	62
 CHAPTER 5 – THE INFLUENCE OF GLOBALISATION	 64
5.1 Overview	64
5.2 What is globalisation?	64
5.3 Existing research on language and globalisation	67
5.4 The role of English in globalisation	67
5.5 Chapter summary	69
 CHAPTER 6 – METHODOLOGY	 70
6.1 Aims and research proposal	70
6.2 Considered methods	70
6.3 Research design	72
6.4 Manifestos	73
6.4.1 Selection of manifestos	76
6.4.2 Sincerity of official documents	77
6.5 The Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica	77
6.6 Method	79
6.7 Ethical considerations	80
 CHAPTER 7 – THE LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SURVEY OF JAMAICA	 81
7.1 Overview	81
7.2 Profile of sample	82
7.3 Language awareness	83
7.4 Language use and stereotypes	84
7.5 Jamaican Patwa as an official language	87
7.6 Education	88
7.7 Chapter summary	90
 CHAPTER 8 – POLITICAL CONTEXT OF JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	 92
8.1 Overview	92
8.2 Jamaica	93

8.2.1 Jamaica Labour Party (JLP)	93
8.2.2 People's National Party (PNP)	94
8.3 Trinidad and Tobago	95
8.3.1 People's National Movement (PNM)	95
8.3.2. The People's Partnership Coalition (PPC) and the United National Congress (UNC)	96
8.4 Chapter summary	97
 CHAPTER 9 – POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTO ANALYSIS	98
9.1 Overview	98
9.2 Results and Findings	99
9.3 Case-study analysis	101
9.4 Structure of manifestos	102
9.5 Jamaica	102
9.5.1 People's National Party 1976	102
9.5.2 People's National Party 2011	104
9.5.3 People's National Party 2016	107
9.5.4 Jamaica Labour Party 1976	110
9.5.5 Jamaica Labour Party 2011	113
9.5.6 Jamaica Labour Party 2016	117
9.5.7 Summary of Jamaican manifestos	118
9.6 Trinidad and Tobago	119
9.6.1 People's National Movement 1976	119
9.6.2 People's National Movement 2015	122
9.6.3 The People's Partnership Coalition 2010	124
9.6.4 The People's Partnership Coalition 2015	127
9.6.5 Summary of Trinidadian manifestos	131
9.7 Chapter summary	132
 CHAPTER 10 – DISCUSSION	134
10.1 Overview	134
10.2 Agency	135
10.3 Globalisation as a suitable model	137
10.4 Cultural baggage	141
10.5 Language maintenance	144
10.6 Exonormative orientation	145
10.7 The emphasis on the British Council	146
10.8 Beyond globalisation	147
10.9 The future of language rise models	148
10.10 Chapter summary	149
 CHAPTER 11 – CONCLUSION	151
11.1 Overview	151
11.2 Findings	151
11.3 Limitations	152

11.4 Future study	153
BIBLIOGRAPHY	154
APPENDICES	163

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1 Map of the Caribbean from Deuber (2014)	9
Figure 2 Colonial possession of the Caribbean Islands at the beginning of the 19 th century adapted from Deuber (2014).	15

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. <i>Summary of the language situation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago</i>	30
Table 2. <i>Table 3, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005.</i>	82
Table 3. <i>Table 9, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005.</i>	84
Table 4. <i>Table 18, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005.</i>	86
Table 5. <i>Table 16, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005.</i>	87
Table 6. <i>Table 17, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005</i>	88
Table 7. <i>Largest political parties in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.</i>	91
Table 8. <i>Frequency of selected terms in the Jamaican and Trinidadian manifestos.</i>	99

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale and aims

This study aims to reassess the well-known works by Robert Phillipson (1992, 1994) and Alastair Pennycook (1994, 1998) regarding the rise of the English language in postcolonial countries with reference to postcolonial Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Their work situates colonialism as the salient variable in the rise of the English language. Both scholars consider speakers of English as predominantly social actors, constrained and influenced by colonial ideologies through the discourse of English language teaching. Their views have been influential in language rise theories but their focus on structure, British colonialism, as a cause for English language rise has meant their work has led to the exclusion of the notion of agency and the choice to acquire English. By contrast, sociologists such as Bourdieu (1977, 1991), Giddens (1984) and Norton (1997) argue that agency - the power of individuals to make free choices - alongside structure are two fundamental positions that shape and influence human behaviour and, possibly, language choice. Phillipson's and Pennycook's focus on structure overlooks the possibility that agency could be a factor in language rise.

This thesis, through the investigation of documentary data, aims to establish whether agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. If this can be shown, this then brings into question the claim that colonialism can be considered the major driver behind English language rise in the 21st century as argued by Phillipson and Pennycook.

1.2 The use of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

Research surrounding language policy has primarily focussed around the activities of Asia and Africa (Bhatt, 2010; Mufwene, 2002; Mukhejee, 2010; Schneider, 2007). The West Indies, too, has prominent British colonial history but work surrounding the rise of the English language is sparse. My interest in the Caribbean, socially and culturally, outside of my studies further motivated my selection of the West Indies for this thesis. A study of language policy in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago can add important dimensions to the understanding of attitudes towards the English language in the wider global context.

Jamaica is the most populous English-speaking island within the Caribbean with 2.9 million inhabitants. Trinidad, alongside the much smaller island of Tobago, forms the second most populous nation in the Caribbean with 1.2 million inhabitants. Although Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have only slight different linguistic histories, they do represent dissimilar settings in the Anglophone Caribbean.

The social context of both island nations is different. Jamaica, whose main industries are services, tourism and bauxite, faces many economic challenges. On the other hand, Trinidad and Tobago has an industrial sector that benefits from oil and natural gas resources making the country prosperous and profitable.

At this point it is worth identifying the indigenous languages of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago which I will be referring to throughout this thesis. The indigenous language in Jamaica

is Jamaican Patwa. In Trinidad and Tobago, the indigenous language is Trinidadian Creole. I will be exploring these languages more closely in chapter 3.

1.3 The way the thesis is organised

In chapter 2, the contextual framework behind this study, which I call *Historical Context*, is outlined. Within this chapter, the colonial histories of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago are described. Chapter 3 describes the language presence in these countries, including language contact settings between the European colonisers and the indigenous population. A description of English language teaching in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, as a business and in the school curriculum, is also described.

Chapter 4 situates the discussion pursued here in its scholarly context. I will explore the existing theoretical arguments that have influenced models and concepts on the English language rise and the various arguments that have dominated the field over the last few decades. I will then deconstruct their arguments to begin to assess their suitability when applied to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This chapter also provides the theory and justification behind the importance of considering ‘agency’ in language rise assessments.

Chapter 5 contextualises the process of globalisation; a process which many postcolonial nations in the 21st century are beginning to take part in. This is followed in chapter 6 by an explanation of the research method that has been used in this study. In this chapter, I present the research model which includes how the data was collected and analysed. It describes the motives behind the use of documentary data, specifically political party manifestos, and how

the findings from the analysis will allow me to identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. Chapter 7 contextualises the political parties of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago that have created the manifestos.

In the next two chapters, the frameworks developed up until then are applied to a range of case studies. The Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica and the political party manifestos of the 1970s and the early 21st century in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are analysed and discussed considering the arguments that have been put forward. These chapters begin to identify whether agency plays a role in English language rise and whether colonialism can still be considered the most important driver behind language rise. Overall, the differences between 20th century and 21st century English language attitudes emerge.

Chapter 10 approaches the topic using the analysed data and the literature gained to finally determine whether existing language rise models are suitable for assessing present-day language rise in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. It identifies if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language and considers whether colonialism, in the 21st century, can still be considered the driver behind language rise. Based upon the findings, and the contribution from existing research, the discussion explores whether the language attitudes presented in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago support the views put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook.

Finally, the conclusion in chapter 11 presents several insights that have been gained from the previous chapters. It discusses the limitations of the study and suggests possible avenues for future study.

1.4 Key terms

I will be referring to several key terms in this thesis so it is appropriate to clarify these definitions here.

1.4.1 Language policy and planning

I will be adopting Schiffman's (1996:3) definitions of language policy and planning within this thesis. He states, 'the term language policy here refers, briefly, to the policy of a society in the area of linguistic communication - that is, the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting that community's relationship to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential'. I understand this definition to reflect decisions and choices which, to be understood, must be set in a political context. Schiffman goes on to define language planning as, 'a set of concrete measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication in a community, typically by directing the development of the languages' (ibid). More simply, language planning is the measures taken by policy makers to put policies into practice.

1.4.2 Language rise and language spread

Language rise, or language spread, is considered the expanded use of a language (Phillipson, 1994). This is often measured in the number of both L1 and L2 speakers of that language and it has been argued that speakers of specific language-based Creoles can also be considered speakers of that language (Crystal, 2003). Phillipson and Pennycook define language rise as an increase in the amount of a communication network that adopts a given language for a

communicative function (Phillipson, 1992 Pennycook, 1994). Thus, the number of individuals that use the language increases.

1.4.3 Colonisation

The definition of colonisation that will be used in this study is, ‘a form of domination – the control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behaviour of the individuals or groups’ (Horvath, 1972: 46). This definition could also be considered as the exploitation of one nation by another. This definition will guide the analysis of colonialism in political party manifestos to assess whether this ideological construction is evident in present day Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

1.4.4 Postcolonialism and postcolonial Englishes

Postcolonialism can be defined as, ‘the perspective or world view of those who believe that it is possible to understand today’s world only by foregrounding the history of colonialism’ (Krishna, 2008:11). Many scholars referred to in this study use postcolonialism to describe language policy after colonisation but not all scholars agree with this definition. Other scholars have referred to postcolonialism as the belief that human consequences of control and exploitation in present day are a result of colonialism and imperialism (Phillipson 1992, Crystal 2003) while others side with the notion that it is the attempt to understand how languages, cultures and identity have been adapted since colonial times (Pennycook 2000, Mufwene 2010). References to postcolonialism in this study will follow Krishna’s definition above.

Additionally, the next chapter frames the colonisation of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in order to uncover ‘postcolonial’ attitudes that are still apparent in these present-day nations.

Postcolonial Englishes (PCE), according to Schneider (2007:8), ‘are a variety of Englishes that have been shaped and determined by the sociohistorical conditions of their origins and by the social nature of man’. The analysis of PCEs contributes to disciplines which have investigated variations and, as a result, have developed methodologies.

1.4.5 Globalisation

Globalisation is considered an ideological framework that is liberalist and which argues for free trade and free movement of capital. Globalisation is often referred to as the combined economic and socio-political cultural changes of a contemporary era. It can be seen as the accelerated spread of a free-market-based and capitalist style of productions over an increasing sample of nations (Krishna, 2008:10). Alongside this focus, I will also be referring to globalisation as a facilitator of language rise and a notion that globalisation works as a two-way street: bringing and taking. The theory and attitudes surrounding globalisation will be explored further in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2 - HISTORICAL CONTEXT

2.1 Overview

Below is a discussion on the histories of the West Indies narrated from the discovery of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago until their independence in the 1960s. I will include pre-and post-European contact and will specifically recount the history of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. I will include information on who colonised the Caribbean islands and when they were settled. This information is relevant because it is setting the scene for later chapters and it is vital to acknowledge the Caribbean history before the first set of European colonisations. Significant space has been devoted to the attempt to contextualise the historical origin of European involvement in the West Indies because it could be considered impossible to develop an alternative understanding of language rise without looking in depth at how the dominant understanding of 'language as an imposition' has come to be constructed.

I will begin by briefly discussing the history of the Caribbean before European encounters, move onto a summary of European activity within the West Indies as a collective nation and finally move into a detailed discussion of European presence within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This account of the historical background of the West Indies is based mainly on the works of Brereton (1981), Higman (2000, 2011), Parry et al (1987) and Williams (1964).

2.2 History before European colonisation

The map, geographically, represents key island names and their position within the Caribbean.



Figure 1. Map of the Caribbean from Deuber (2014)

The term ‘West Indies’ came from an expedition mistake made by Christopher Columbus in 1492 who falsely thought he had reached India by travelling westerly from Spain. Over time, the name ‘West Indies’ has come to describe colonies, past and present, on the islands and coastlines of the Caribbean. The West Indies are situated between North America and South America in a gulf shaped ocean. Within my thesis I will be referring to two terms that describe the position of islands within the Caribbean. The first is the ‘Greater Antilles’ which refers to Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic and the ‘Lower Antilles’ which refers to every other land form within the Caribbean which is south of Cuba including the eastern Caribbean islands such as Barbados, St Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago.

The first colonisers of the Caribbean named themselves the ‘Taino’. The name represented nobility and was used to introduce themselves to the first European settlers in the 15th century.

The Taino ventured from the South American mainland but travelled no further than the Trinidad Island in the eastern Caribbean chain of islands. Due to the small distance between the continent and Trinidad, it was no surprise that this was one of the first Caribbean islands to be colonised by the South American people due to its easy accessibility. Trinidad was different in terms of settlement compared to other Caribbean islands. Trinidad offered a luscious and tropical flora that would have been found on the South American continent making it easier for the Taino people to inhabit. A second wave of migration from South America carried people through the island chain stretching north of Trinidad and these people began to occupy eastern Cuba as well as the west of the Caribbean ocean. From the mainland of North America, the size and position of Cuba meant that migration from the mainland to the islands was possible (Higman, 2011:12). The second wave of migration brought people from mainland South America who had refined skills in agriculture and had developed less physical lifestyles. To come from the Taino group was the population called 'Caribs' which referred to a group of migrants known as 'island' or 'islanders'. They travelled with their agricultural and settlement skills towards the eastern islands of the Caribbean and then into the Greater Antilles. On these islands, they met Archaic Age peoples and their interactions encouraged a diversity in culture and the emergence of complex societies (Higman, 2011:22). Furthermore, as migrant groups from Central America were still yet to settle in the Caribbean, the culture of the Caribbean islands was very much that of South America (Higman, 2011:22).

2.3 European first encounters of the Caribbean

The Europeans came to the Caribbean with intention of extending their settlements they had successfully gained around the world. Only a handful of islands were still available for

colonisation so, according to Higman (2011:53), the only way the Europeans could succeed in colonising these lands was by removing, enslaving or killing the Taino people who inhabited these lands. Based on this, it could be suggested that the Europeans overcoming the indigenous people, and the motivation to do so, was significant in the process of colonisation and the development of Europe.

On his first voyage, Christopher Columbus described the West Indies as having similar attributes to the Garden of Eden so he convinced people of the need for Christ in these islands and on his second voyage he travelled back to the West Indies with priests, placing a Catholic sheet over his colonised islands (Higman, 2011:61). After colonising these islands, Spain moved on to colonising the American mainland including Florida, Mexico and Panama. Despite proving that their colonial technique was effective in overcoming indigenous settlers, Spain showed no interest in colonising the Lesser Antilles islands in the Caribbean due to their small size.

The Dutch, the English and the French had similar reasons for exploring the West Indies; they all wanted to extend their colonial empire by setting up protestant colonies and obtaining valuables such as indigo, logwood and tobacco for use in Europe (Parry et al, 1987:47). Men were available in England to take over to the Caribbean as it was used as an excuse to send the unemployed and the unwanted men from England. This increased manpower provision allowing England to colonise for settlement as well as trade and exploration.

The first experiments in colonisation from the English began after the Treaty of London in 1518. The Treaty allowed England to settle in areas of the West Indies that were considered

well-suited with peace with Spain: Virginia, Bermuda and Guiana. Spain was particularly dominant in the Caribbean at this time with large colonial and military presence. Additionally, the English were not prepared for, nor did they favour, an Anglo-Spanish battle so England's colonial tactics were to maintain peace with Spain while still gaining position in the Caribbean (Parry et al, 1987). Thomas Warner, an English captain, landed on St Christopher on his return journey back to London from discovering North Guiana. Taking a liking to the island, he gained patronage and capital in England and returned in 1624 to begin the first permanent English settlement in the West Indies (Parry et al, 1987:48). Tobago, on the other hand, was more difficult to occupy as the indigenous Carib population drove out any prospective invaders.

The West India Company was composed of Dutch merchants and foreign investors. The Company became chartered and was the first organisation that challenged the Spanish presence in the Caribbean. Due to this, it meant that the Dutch could maintain their own fleet of ships when formal war was declared. This contributed largely to the Dutch economy as the selling and buying of goods increased their commercial activity. The Dutch were ahead not only in colonial warfare but in their strength of economy too. They dwarfed France and England with their capital and were the first nation to trial new and developed methods of sheathing ships' hulls using copper to protect the underwater hull of a ship from the corrosive effects of salt water allowing ships to endure longer periods of time at sea. This ensured constant Dutch presence within the Caribbean waters. At this point it was obvious that the Dutch were the dominant power in the Caribbean leaving the French and English almost hesitant to continue with their expeditions.

The attack from the West India Company on the Spanish in 1621 took Spain to the breaking point as their resources were over taxed. This weakness allowed other foreign groups to settle vacant Caribbean islands. The English and French did not have the capacity to defeat Spain but the Dutch did. Therefore, the English positioned themselves with the French as incapable of defeating the Spanish. This allowed the Dutch to tactically remove their largest competitor without the English and French suffering as a result. England pursued their Dutch success by determining themselves permanently in the outer islands of the Caribbean to oppose the Spanish. The English, Dutch and the French often worked closely together against the Spanish but only the Dutch succeeded in making permanent settlements. According to Parry et al (1987:49), the Dutch naval and economic strength protected and stimulated the infant Antillean settlements of England and France suggesting that the Dutch were protecting the English and French almost unknowingly of what was going to come. The solidarity between the Dutch, French and English began to deteriorate as they became rivals over the vacant Caribbean islands. The Dutch became jealous as the French and English governments learned a theory that understood a nation's wealth and power was best served by increased exports to foreign land. This suggests that the breaking away from the Dutch may have influenced English colonial policies for the next two hundred years.

The commonwealth government of England began to react to the successful Dutch activity as part of the West India Company and responded for political reasons to secure Barbados and Antigua as their own. According to Parry et al (1987:55), it became obvious that English tactics were not motivated by rebellious colonists, but were to replace the Dutch with English shipping to ensure that the English colonies were being served by English ships. This economic

indifference between the Dutch and the English was the start of a long disagreement which eventually led to war in 1652.

The union of English and Scottish parliaments in 1707 meant that foreign invasions and expeditions were known as British and no longer English or Scottish.

By 1770 nearly every island within the Caribbean was under possession by a European nation. The control was placed in the hands of the colonists who were being governed from multiple European centres. The period between the late 16th century and the late 17th century saw many deathly battles but the change in possession of the islands altered very little. The reason for the lack of change was found in the monetary gain obtained from sugar. All the islands in the Caribbean were valuable but there was speculation whether the value of the islands would remain. Furthermore, as technologies such as shipping and agriculture began to advance, the use of small islands within the Caribbean soon became redundant as access between the bigger islands became easier. In some cases, however, the smallest of islands including Barbados which remained under British control until 1964, did remain a long-term estate of Britain. Instead, this implies that the development between the larger and smaller islands differed.

The Sugar Revolution was the name given to a period in the 18th century that saw the demand for sugar increase in Europe. This requirement meant a greater labour supply than was available through the importation of European servants and African slaves. According to Higman (2011:98), 'the revolution challenged colonies to move from small to large scale farming units, from low to high value output and from free-labour to slavery.' A fight for possession of the smaller islands meant they were just as vital as the larger Caribbean islands. Colonisers wanted

to establish and maintain their position on these lands due to the high value sugar export they provided. Moreover, the success that came from the Sugar Revolution across all islands transformed the economy and society within the Caribbean for the next 200 years. The Sugar Revolution allowed a steady income to all island economies satisfying the demand from European investors.

Below is a visual representation of the colonial possession of the Caribbean islands at the beginning of the 19th century.

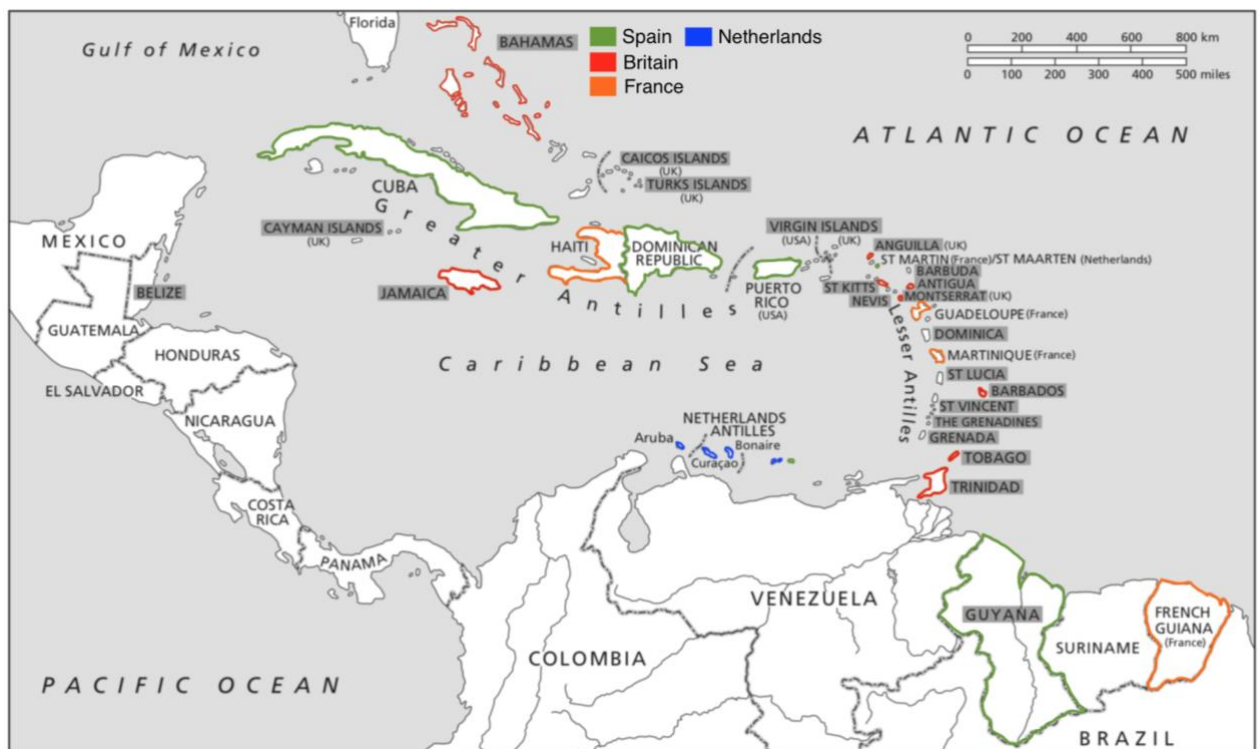


Figure 2. Colonial possession of the Caribbean Islands at the beginning of the 19th century adapted from Deuber (2014).

The first half of the 19th century saw two different systems of government develop in the West Indies: legislative islands and Crown colonies. A civil service was introduced and society

began to accept political patronage. Along with this, emancipation meant that the former slaves had the opportunity to sell their labour, migrate, squat or purchase land. In Jamaica and Trinidad specifically, a peasantry emerged because of this. It was also in this time that saw connections between the Caribbean and the rest of the world strengthen. The United States replaced the European nations as the imperial power, the Caribbean developed progressively strong economic links with the US and it was the first time that the Caribbean saw vast numbers of people emigrate out of the region (Higman, 2011:196).

The 20th century began to see Caribbean islands become independent from their colonisers. The way decolonisation worked out across the British colonies differed, the link between Britain and other former British colonies remained robust even among the republics. All the British Caribbean colonies joined the commonwealth in 1949 and remained in the commonwealth after independence starting in the 1960s. Only a few islands presently remain attached to their colonisers and politically they are tied only on loose terms.

2.4 European involvement in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

This section will describe the European activities within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago from 1655 until their independence in 1962.

2.4.1 Jamaica

The capture of Jamaica in 1655 was different to previous English attainments as it was a formal naval and military operation which was organised and funded by the government. Under

pressure from the Spanish to release Jamaica, England decided to fight Spain rather than to give it up. England believed that Jamaica was the back-bone to the Caribbean and its significant size and position within the West Indies meant it was worth keeping. The English knew that the wealth of sugar would not last forever so they wanted to make the most of the size of Jamaica and take advantage of its sugar exports (Higman, 2011:110) Spanish presence on the island was not impressive showing little resistance against the English and in 1670 English possession of Jamaica was formally recognised. The population and development of Jamaica depended on constant migration and an inflow of people to maintain existing numbers. Likewise, government propaganda and low taxes were not enticing people to Jamaica. Therefore, despite the effort that was given to protect Jamaica, Jamaica was never considered a true colony to the English government.

Of the individual colonies within the Caribbean, Jamaica had the largest number of slaves while British colonies had 23% of the European cohort that travelled to the West Indies (Higman, 2011:123). The slaves in the West Indies were initially made up of the native Carib people under order of the Spanish fleet. This group was soon made up of Africans who were considered not Christian by Columbus (Higman, 2011:78). Although slavery had generally disappeared in Europe, the Europeans were still relying on a hierarchal chain in the West Indies to justify their actions on enslavement.

Enslaved people within the West Indies prospered for more than their fate allowed them. They found themselves imprisoned for generations although they were only ever given half a chance to escape and live in freedom. For the slave population, this opportunity encouraged riots and revolt and proved to be successful. Modern historians have labelled this time as 'the age of

democratic revolution'. These revolts in Jamaica were like those of other colonies in the West Indies. The British took a leading role in the movement and stopped receiving enslaved people from Africa in 1808 despite being heavily involved in the trade of people. Slavery was officially abolished in 1838. Higman (2011:154) explains that this move by Britain was tactical in ensuring that their Industrial Revolution moved forward.

The abolition of slavery allowed the interests of the enslaved populations to be protected. Assemblies and councils in Jamaica were expected to adjust to the newly free people without discrimination of colour or ethnicity but still maintaining restrictions on age, gender and fortune. The Morant Bay rebellion of 1865 saw the peasants of Jamaica violently protest over issues such as wages and rent. The system came under great pressure, and in fear of riots and rebellions, the system was replaced by a Crown colony in 1865.

Jamaica joined the Federation of the West Indies in 1958 with the hope of creating a unit that would become an independent state. The Federation of the West Indies was formed to satisfy the demands for independence from the British colonies. The Federation had the intention of acquiring all British colonies but after the collapse, the smaller islands such as Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica and Grenada became British overseas territories. It was the discontent in Jamaica which was the main catalyst that caused the Federation to collapse. Jamaica is situated in a remote position and a considerable distance west compared to other members of the Federation. Jamaica had the largest share of the population in the Federation but the shares of the Federation seats were smaller. It was also suggested that the smaller islands of the Federation were relying on Jamaica and draining their wealth. The parliament of the United Kingdom dissolved the Federation of the West Indies in May 1962 due to internal political

disputes on how the Federation was to be governed. Thus, Jamaica and the other British colonies became independent sooner than expected and Jamaica became a sovereign state on the 6th August 1962 (Parry et al, 1987:265). All that remained from the Federation was the University of the West Indies and the West Indies cricket team (Higman, 2011:267).

The period after World War II brought socioeconomic diversification, democratisation and urbanisation which resulted in the growth of Kingston (Patrick, 1999:26). Along with this came an increasing sense of ‘nationalism’ which, according to Schneider (2007:237), ‘instilled pride in the nation’s African heritage and its distinctive cultural manifestations, like Reggae music.’ As a result, a pan-ethnic Jamaican identity was produced which incorporated rural and lower class traditions and habits.

2.4.2 Trinidad and Tobago

Although Trinidad and Tobago are currently considered a single colony, I will be describing the history of Trinidad and Tobago as separate colonies up until their merger in 1888.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 reshuffled European involvement within the Caribbean which brought the Anglo- Spanish conflict to an end. A result of this Treaty was some islands on the eastern barrier of the Caribbean were to remain neutral with the hope of maintaining the culture and lifestyle of the indigenous settlers, the Caribs, who originally founded the Caribbean islands before European involvement. Included in the agreement was the island of Tobago which was reserved for the Carib people. The agreement was meant to last ‘forever’ but very shortly after the agreement the French began incursions into Dominica while the

British broke their side of the deal and began to seek settlements. The Treaty of Paris saw another rearranging of Caribbean ownership and Britain were finally given possession of Tobago (Higman, 2011:114). The Spanish held onto Trinidad but only until 1770 when the French took it and it finally became British in 1792 thus removing any Spanish involvement in the West Indies. According to Higman (2011:184), the seizure of Trinidad spread a layer of British imperial power and culture over a nation that had an existing Catholic, French and Spanish ruling population. This created multiple levels of national identity and language. Luke (2007) refers to the Caribbean identity as a result of collective group consciousness which produced a sense of belonging to a group of common descent. Additionally, colonial legacies from the French, Spanish and British contributed to Trinidadian identity thus 19th century Trinidad had a British crown colony with a French-speaking population and Spanish laws. These legacies produced a unique Trinidadian outlook to life with a shared common history. These differences, however, were accommodated easily as it allowed the government to form a hierarchal structure, like that of Jamaica. By 1814, both Trinidad and Tobago were under the control of the British.

To ensure that Trinidad and Tobago remained British at heart, Britain introduced an education system that ensured the acquisition of British English. Most of Trinidad's and Tobago's population were unable to read and write and the British government extended education past the learning of agriculture to the acquisition of skills including reading, writing and arithmetic. Using Christian missionaries, the British strategy was to create West Indians who considered themselves as colonial Britons. The British positioned education as a gateway to success away from plantation labour. They advertised English as the only way the population could secure a prosperous future. The speaking of Creole was frowned upon but due to the rooting of this

language through hundreds of years of island ownership, it was difficult to quash. This created a state of bilingualism where people of the Caribbean were fluent in their colonised language and their domestic Creoles. This battle of colonial language and indigenous Creoles was seen across all other Caribbean islands. Furthermore, islands that had been colonised by the British were given the label 'English-speaking Caribbean.' I will further describe the language presence within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in a later chapter.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Tobago's economy was becoming inefficient. The Sugar industry began to dry up and production became increasingly unprofitable. The final straw came in 1884 when the London market fell sharply as a result of European competition. Land values plummeted and the Sugar export was at its lowest amount in history. Wages and public services were cut back and the lack of capital meant the island was nearing bankruptcy. As a reaction, the British government decided to bring Trinidad and Tobago together as one nation in 1889 to avoid ruin of the Tobago island. Brereton (1981:153) states 'it was by imperial fiat, the outcome of Britain's anxiety to shuffle off responsibility for an impoverished little colony by tacking it on to a more prosperous one.' In January 1889, Tobago and Trinidad were united with a single governor, judiciary and code of laws.

Trinidad and Tobago too were part of the Federation of the West Indies. Due to the federation collapsing, Trinidad and Tobago did not have to wait long until their independence. On the 31st August 1962, Trinidad and Tobago followed the path of Jamaica and became independent. Williams (1964:242) states that in January 1956 a new political party, known as the People's National Movement (PNP), was formed. The PNP were the first party to form a government in Trinidad and Tobago and its popularity was shown with the party winning 20 out of 30 seats

in the 1961 General Election. The party offered the first manifestation of party politics on a national scale and had a written constitution. In 1956, they had abolished the Crown Colony system and introduced a cabinet system allowing Trinidad and Tobago to have a body of high-ranking officials to make decisions for the country. A significant achievement by the party was the emancipation of the women in Trinidad and Tobago and their involvement in equal rights. Furthermore, the colours of the PNP's independent flag, black, brown, yellow and white, were introduced to symbolise the union of the ethnic groups which had originally suffered under European colonialism (Williams, 1964:243).

2.5 Chapter summary

The process of colonisation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago bore some similarities but also some differences. The nations remained close in their process of decolonisation from Britain. Both nations were previously colonised by the Spanish which meant Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago had legacies of Spanish language and law while under a British government. They both joined the Federation of the West Indies with the intention of becoming independent nations and both nations became independent in August 1962. Despite their size difference, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago advanced at the same speed. Although historical sources have suggested that smaller islands were abandoned by the British, Trinidad and Tobago is an exception and was still able to prosper and become one of the strongest economies in the Caribbean. Both nations introduced imperialist parties, arguing that a nation is better served from their own land rather than a European centre. Furthermore, the decolonisation of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago influenced Caribbean politics across the West Indies.

I do not wish to ignore or play down the brutalities of colonial history regarding slavery and genocide but these are not my primary concerns in explaining the English language rise. I am interested in a person's ability to choose to learn English in the 21st century. My aim is to identify whether agency is factor in language rise and to explore whether the colonial ideologies that have described above are still evident in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. I will explore the attitudes towards the English language that are discovered in the data within chapter 9.

CHAPTER 3 - LANGUAGE CONTEXT IN JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

3.1 Overview

In this section I will explain the emergence of Creole languages within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. I will begin with an overview of Caribbean Creole languages within the West Indies where scholars have observed that slave plantations were the initial reason for the beginning of Creole languages. From here, a summary of Creoles specific to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago will provide a clearer context surrounding English language presence and behaviours along with the socio-linguistic context that is currently present within these nations. This chapter will then conclude with a section that describes English Language Teaching (ELT) in the school curriculum within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This information is relevant as it provides the past and current attitudes surrounding indigenous language forms in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. It also begins to signpost language attitudes that refute and encourage the use of English while also describing how English currently coexists alongside indigenous language forms.

Although Trinidad and Tobago are separate islands, I will treat the two islands as one speech community. Despite scholars arguing that Trinidad and Tobago have separate speech communities (James and Youssef, 2004) and a distinctly separate basilect in Tobago, Winer (1993) still argues that the language varieties are similar enough to form a single speech community.

In Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, English coexists as the official language with a lexically related Creole vernacular, Jamaican Patwa and Trinidadian Creole, used as the common language. Although these are oral-based languages, written forms have begun to emerge in the last 100 years (Patrick, 1997).

3.2 Caribbean Creole languages

A Creole language, according to Mufwene (2015:134), is a language variety that is a result of contact between colonial non-standard varieties of a European language and multiple non-European languages around the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans throughout the 17th to 19th centuries. Creoles are constructed by the lexifiers of the dominant language resulting in language-specific vocabulary. As such, these can be limited by the contexts in which they are used. Mufwene (2015:144) refers to the difference in Creoles that were present in settlement colonies and trade colonies. He argues that spoken patterns of interaction within trade colonies are irregular but are regular and close in the settlement colonies. Thus, communicative conventions developed in such colonies resulting in a new language.

Recent scholars such as Aceto (2003), Baker (2000), Beckford Wassink (1999) and Deuber (2014) agree that the development of Creoles within the West Indies started within the slave plantations because of language contact between the slaves - African and indigenous - and the European colonisers. Additionally, because of the large area of West Africa that the slaves were collected from, the West Africans themselves had substantial linguistic diversity (Devonish, 1986:41). The slave plantation had been considered the ‘quintessential’ environment for the emergence of Creole languages (Aceto, 2003; Deuber, 2014). Within the

slave plantations was a hierarchal structure, or a social matrix, as Aceto (2003:128) describes it, which emerged from a disproportionate ratio of slaves to colonial Europeans. The European language forms were used by the African slaves as a lingua franca. Baker (2000:48) found that this lingua franca adopted by the slaves was used as a means of 'interethnic communication', and then eventually used as a first language by children who were born within the plantations. The younger the slave that entered the plantation, the more easily the target European language was acquired. Later slave arrivals received approximations of the target language and these trends continued so when the slave trade in the mid-18th century was at its height the slave arrivals were receiving estimations of the target language creating multiple language variations across generations. This interpolated through many generations and was typical of other islands within the West Indies as well as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

3.3 English Creoles and the Creole Continuum

Several scholars, including Baker (2000), Mufwene (2015) and Winford (2008), argue that Creoles have evolved by a structural divergence away from the lexifiers which has led to an emergence of a basilect in a Creole continuum. A basilect is encouraged by the acquisition of close approximations of a language, as mentioned above, and the different interaction patterns of speakers. Winford (2008:413) states that basilectal varieties are signified as more 'radical' Creoles as they show the strongest evidence of impact from West African languages such as Akan and Gbe. The Creole continuum, therefore, spans from local standard varieties at one end to Creole vernaculars at another with a mixture of local standard and Creole vernaculars, known as mesolectal varieties, in the middle (Winford, 2008:414). The presence of these varieties in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are described later in this chapter.

3.4 Language presence in Jamaica

Once the English claimed control of Jamaica in 1655, the English language became the language of prestige and power while the developing Creoles were regarded as the ‘fragmented’ language of ‘fragmented’ people (Beckford Wassink, 1999:58). England’s early occupation of Jamaica ensured that alternative language Creoles, that were threatened by the Spanish and Dutch, were limited making it easier to establish a colonial language on the island.

As Jamaica was home to the larger sugar plantations, the colonisers required a large amount of labour causing the slave population to increase considerably to almost 100,000 in 1739 (Deuber, 2014:28). Due to these higher ratios of African slaves to Europeans, and the differences in community settings and interactions between the two groups, highly divergent forms of English-lexicon Creoles were produced causing the making of basilectal varieties. Thus, Patwa became an English-based Creole language made up of loan words from West African influences. A Creole continuum formed but, according to Patrick (1999:6), the variation across speakers was very small and identifying the boundaries of multiple dialects was, and still is, near impossible.

A linguistically important significance of the emancipation in the mid-19th century was the spread of education amongst the former slaves (Schneider, 2007:230). This, however, was a slow process due to inadequate teaching conditions. Thus, by the 1960s, only 4% of the population attended secondary school (Christie, 2003:12). As a result, fluency in Standard Jamaican English and Jamaican Patwa was rare with many individuals relying on aspects of each language to communicate (Christie, 2003). Craig (2006:103) reports, however, that

parents of those born in Creole environments desired a monolingual English language education for their children as they believed it would have performed in their children's best interests. To an extent this view is significant because it involves challenging a well-grounded Creole, a history of indigenous culture and an attitude that multiple scholars support. This implies that parents will challenge existing languages and cultures to ensure their children are not going to be denied, what they recognise as, the highly valuable skill of Standard English. Reflecting on present day language learning, however, it could be argued that acquiring Standard English does not require monolingual schooling as many nations around the world learn English in multilingual environments suggesting exposure to two languages, and bilingualism, is not detrimental to a child's education.

3.5 Language presence in Trinidad and Tobago

The language presence in Trinidad and Tobago is more complex than that in Jamaica due to the established Creoles on the island that were present before the British settled in the late 18th century. According to Deuber (2017:24), while Trinidadian English Creole developed in the 19th century as an immigrant Creole variety, immigration played only a minor role in the development of Jamaican Creole during British colonisation. As described within the historical context of Trinidad and Tobago, the British successfully claimed the islands later than Jamaica. Consequently, Trinidad and Tobago already had an existing Creole continuum formed of French-speaking Creoles. According to Aceto (2003:131), the British control of Trinidad and Tobago in 1792 from the French meant an emergence of local language varieties of English that were significantly influenced by the growth of English in social fields including education and government. Aceto concluded that English varieties emerged due to colonial plantation –

along with patterns of immigration – and the colonial changing of power between the islands in the Caribbean.

The French language remained in use until the mid 19th century and influenced English Creole along with the import of slaves from India to satisfy the need for labour on the sugar plantations (Winer, 1984:187). The intermediate varieties refer to the idea that a Creole represents many phonological and morphological features of multiple dialects (Winford, 2008:413). In Trinidad, Creole vernaculars are closer to the local standard so Winford found that the Creole vernaculars were referred to as ‘dialects of English’ as they stemmed from many linguistic aspects from regional dialects of ‘British English’.

By the end of the 20th century, an intermediate and mesolectal Creole was well established on the island and English became the practice language of Trinidad (Deuber, 2014:29). The less educated segments of Trinidad used a vernacular, a variety of Caribbean English Creole (CEC), which had been referred to as ‘bad English’ or ‘broken English’ (Winer, 1993:10). In 1975, Trinidadian Creole was recognised as a language by the Ministry of Education (Youssef and Deuber, 2007). It is evident that Trinidad existed under similar Creole attitudes to those in Jamaica which referred to the less educated areas of Jamaica to speak a ‘fragmented’ language.

3.6 Summary of language presence in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

Jamaica’s early occupation by the English ensured that existing established Creoles were curbed and eradicated and English could settle as the colonial language of the island. Unlike Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago had varied European ownership before British control; as such,

French and Dutch-based Creoles were present. This meant various European-based Creoles competed against the more recent English-based varieties that arrived due to immigration from Africa and India. This caused divergent forms of the English-based Creole to emerge leading to a Creole continuum. To deal with the heterogeneous language presence, both nations regarded their Creole variation to be a defective language in order to amplify the status of English. As such, a hierarchal structure was formed placing English speakers above those with alternative language provision. English was used within all aspects of Jamaican and Trinidadian society to discourage the use of Creole. Furthermore, the stress on English within education meant children without school provision and exposure to English continued to communicate in the Creole varieties, reinforcing a hierarchal structure and expanding the Creole continuum.

Below is a chart summarising the language situation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Jamaica	Trinidad and Tobago
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration from West Africa and India led to English-lexicon varieties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous colonial powers meant French and Spanish-based Creoles existed.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard English became compulsory in education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard English became the practice language.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other language variations were considered improper. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other language variations were considered improper.

Table 1. *Summary of the language situation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.*

3.7 Sociolinguistic context of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

More than 15 years after independence from Great Britain in 1962, attitudes towards Creoles still suggested they were inferior to English. Craig (1976, 2006) explains that the main reason why the Creole-influenced languages of the West Indies had not been used in education was due to the long-standing attitudes towards Creole that were associated with slavery, low social class and lack of education that were enforced during the colonisation. A study conducted by Winford (1976) on language attitudes among trainee teachers in Trinidad found that there was a strong inclination among his informants to label Creole structures as ‘bad English’. However, when Mühleisen (2001) designed her follow-up study 20 years later, she found that this classification of ‘bad English’ was not accepted anymore. This led her to conclude that the evaluation of Trinidadian Creole as ‘bad English’ was seemingly dying out. She argued that this was not due to a matter of terminology but reflected a change in attitudes. In her survey, she also found specific scenarios and contexts in which it was deemed acceptable to speak Creole. Domains such as university lectures, international conferences, TV documentaries and newspapers were unanimously judged inappropriate for Creole although roughly half of the informants said that the use of Creole in radio, music and local TV broadcasts were appropriate (2001:69).

Beckford Wassink’s (1999) study of language attitudes in Jamaica also reflected the underlying assumptions that were carried by the terminology. She discovered that those in the oldest age groups tended to link ‘Patwa’ and ‘bad English’ while the younger informants made a division between the two concepts (1999:68). Moreover, nearly all respondents identified Patwa as a language. 45% of her informants also rated Creole as suitable for television contexts but public

writing including newspapers was rated less favourable. Additionally, Schneider (2007:235) also concluded that the love of and promotion of all things Jamaican was met with the resistance of an anti-Creole element in society and the view that Jamaican Creole was considered a corrupt form of English which was to be avoided and removed.

The 'Language Attitude Survey in Jamaica' conducted by the Jamaican Language Unit (2005) confirmed Beckford Wassink's conclusions. The study surveyed 1000 participants from the eastern and western areas of Jamaica who worked in various industries including agriculture and the economy. Beckford Wassink found that Jamaicans considered Jamaican Creole as a language and that most of the participants considered themselves bilingual in English and Patwa. The respondents were asked to respond with their thoughts on the possibility of the Prime Minister giving a speech in Patwa rather than English. The participants responded positively suggesting that the PM could use Patwa to try and communicate better with the public (JLU, 2005:16). A similar study was conducted in Trinidad by Deuber (2009) targeting teachers using the same participant specification as Mühleisen (2001) and Winford (1976). Deuber centred her questions on language-in-education and she reported a change in attitudes which had taken place in one generation in the education sector. Teachers articulated positive attitudes towards Creole as the language of everyday communication but saw the role of Creole as complementary to English which acted as a facilitator to the acquisition of English. What appears similar between Beckford Wassink's, Deuber's and Mühleisen's studies is that while speakers voiced positive attitudes towards Creoles, there is a functional division between them and English, and the contexts they are used in. Referring to my own study, analysing attitudes towards the English language can help explain whether this distinction between Creoles and Standard English is preferred by learners in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This could

further suggest that an individual may choose to learn English if the cultures that are attached to Creole languages and the cultures that are attached to Standard English remain separate entities, allowing a speaker to remove themselves from the social baggage each language may hold.

In relation to Jamaican and Trinidadian language politics, it seems that a person's choice to acquire Standard English is not considered an important factor when determining reasons for the rise of the English language; instead, it is assumed that all individuals wish to maintain the use of Creole but are denied the use of it due to colonial ideologies. This supports an idea that debates surrounding language in postcolonial society in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago must consider the choice an indigenous individual may have to learn English to accurately form a model that considers agency in language rise. It could then be argued that countries may accept English as a means of communication but it does not mean it will compromise their indigenous culture. I will incorporate the attitudes towards Creole languages that have been put forward by Craig and Deuber into the discussion chapter to further identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language.

3.8 Language planning

The education sector has been the battlefield for those who have resilient views on the status and usefulness of Creoles (Carrington, 1999:42). The spread of general education from Britain to the colonies and from the upper classes to the masses, has decided the norm that education only be available in English although resentful public debates saw the introduction of the 'New Primary School Syllabus for Language Arts in Trinidad and Tobago' in 1975. The syllabus

recognised the urgency for a new language development approach that could cater for the local cultural scene. As such, it allowed the official first language of English to be carried over from pre-independence to help facilitate the process of transitional bilingualism (Craig, 1980:250).

The syllabus states:

‘The Language Arts curriculum presented here recognises the fact that the language spoken by the child when he enters school is, in most cases, structurally different from the English that he is expected to learn in school. Children learn the language of the community in which they live by imitating the speech of their peers and elders. By the time they are ready to enter the infant department they have acquired considerable control of the language of the community in which they live’ (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975:8).

The syllabus recognised that it would be unrealistic to demand of a child a working knowledge of English. This permitted Creole to be recognised as a language and to be accepted as a pupil’s way of communication until they had acquired an adequate knowledge of Standard English. Furthermore, the syllabus continued to discuss that the task of English acquisition was not to stamp out the child’s first language but was to help them acquire ‘internationally acceptable English’ which was universally understood (1975:8).

Jamaica had too facilitated Creole in the same way in 2001 as a means of access to stronger English competency (Jettka, 2010). The Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture set a Language Education policy to cope with the state affairs in class that restricted the native speakers of Patwa to acquire English which lead to unsatisfactory performance of students in language and literacy. The policy promoted the oral use of Patwa, like Trinidad and Tobago, as a means to facilitate English learning.

It was suggested that the education system in the West Indies needed to be fully accommodating to each case of national identities, environments and goals. It was said that this could be achieved by introducing in early education the mother-tongue language that would have been the most natural to young children. UNESCO (1953) suggested that the use of vernacular languages in English speaking populations were among areas where Creoles could be used successfully in education (Craig, 2006:100). However, reflecting on this, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago were the only nations in the West Indies to implement this. Looking forward within my study, evidence of Creole languages in the political party manifestos will identify if agency plays a role among Jamaicans and Trinidadians to promote the indigenous language forms. The findings will be explored within the Data Analysis in chapter 9.

3.9 English in the Caribbean curriculum

The teaching and learning of the English language became compulsory when the British colonisers permitted missionaries to force slaves to engage and learn the English language. Prior to the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, programmes were executed in Trinidad and Tobago to remove languages other than English and to neutralise the alternative speech communities that were present (London, 2003:102). After emancipation and the allocation of the Negro Education grant provided by Britain, English teaching formed a sharper focus. Additionally, the formalisation of the education system in the 19th century ensured that the newly tightened grip focussed on the significance of the teaching and learning of English in school curriculums (London, 2003:287). London states that as a result of refuting languages other than English, ‘the population (about half a million towards the end of the 1950s) compromised peoples previously scattered in the service of slavery and indenture, and denied

use of their indigenous culture and languages' (2003:101). An assumption at this time was that there was no other language to learn in the first cycle of schooling, and this was not questioned by the students or teachers. In places of worship, in the workplace and courts of law, the ideology that no other language could exist other than English persisted. This legitimised the English language as the only form of communication for the masses in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica (London, 2003:107).

Scholars such as Ashcroft (1989), Ghandi (1998), London (2003) and Loomba (1998) all argued that schooling, specifically the curriculum alongside the policies and practices that informed it, is significant in how the English language has become so well rooted in the West Indies. The status given to English in schools in the English-speaking Caribbean was accomplished through the dedication given to the subject within the national curriculum. According to London (2003:302), records examined from 1938-1959 show that during the late colonial period, English had achieved the status of an individual subject taught in the elementary school system and that roughly 80% of official allocated time was devoted to learning the English language. As English emerged as a separate subject, the commitment during this early period centred around certain language components such as syntax and clausal analysis (London, 2003:103). This was introduced to develop learners' capability of the English language. The splitting of the language into this taxonomy reiterated core language features that are taught in modern-day education and are mirrored in ELT – business and curriculum based- across the globe.

British bureaucrats kept an eye on schools to regulate, control and promote the teaching of English (London, 2003:303). Two models were used in the regulation of English teaching:

reinforcing a secure base in the knowledge of English and warranting the continuous use of English. These models mirrored those in Britain to ensure English language in the curriculum followed the British education model. London argues that this method, despite being evident across the globe presently, was counterproductive as controlling the natives, for example, in Trinidad and Tobago to exploit was the aim rather than offering liberation, empowerment and opportunity.

Currently, English has secured a significant amount of time in the Jamaican and Trinidadian curriculums. The use of monoliterate bilingualism policies allows oral skills in English and Creole to be encouraged while aiming literacy skills at Standard English. These, according to Craig (2006), provide a modified second language teaching methodology allowing Creole to facilitate the acquisition of Standard English. However, according to Deuber (2014), these policies have not translated into much more than a minor tolerance of Creole causing inadequate teaching of Standard English in classrooms further supporting the idea that Creole and Standard English, specifically in Jamaica, have a close relationship.

3.10 Chapter summary

Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have both experienced sociolinguistic variations in how their languages have developed and it is evident colonialism has shaped their linguistic histories greatly, even in the immediate period after independence. Both nations have a Creole continuum although that in Jamaica is greater. This suggests that attitudes towards the English language in Jamaica are more divided than those in Trinidad and Tobago. This information can help me to predetermine certain attitudes that individuals may have towards the English

language and how these attitudes may have been constructed. On the other hand, the findings from the recent manifestos may challenge existing research on language presence and sociolinguistics in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. I will incorporate the arguments that have been put forward by Beckford Wassink (1999), Craig (1980) and Deuber (2005, 2014) into the discussion to explain the results and, fundamentally, identify if agency plays a role in 21st century language rise and to assess the suitability of Phillipson's and Pennycook's research in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

CHAPTER 4 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Overview

The data from this study will be analysed using a scholarly perspective that is propounded by Robert Phillipson and Alastair Pennycook. My review of their work will show their theoretical standpoints, their perceptions of what has encouraged English language growth and their judgements underlying their positions. Phillipson and Pennycook use different approaches but they both argue that colonialism is a prominent factor in the spread of the English language. Additionally, they both argue that the spread of the English language can be detrimental to indigenous cultures and languages. I aim to identify what they have said about English in non-native English speaking countries and see whether it can be applied to the English language growth in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. I will start with a description of Phillipson's work and then move on to Pennycook's work where I will begin a comparison between the two perspectives. From here a critique of their work, including what is missing from their assessments, will follow. This will lead to a review of other scholars' attitudes towards world Englishes and a discussion of Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) theory of socialisation to contextualise the agency and structure debate, and the importance of considering agency in language rise models. I will then finish with views from West Indian native scholars.

4.2 Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism*.

Phillipson's references refer to his work published in 1992 unless otherwise labelled.

4.2.1 Aims and motivations

Phillipson positions his research in the field of Language Planning and Policy (LPP). Phillipson's point of intervention is in the domain of Language Planning to try and find methods that will allow languages other than English to survive. He argues that western countries have used the English language as a tool of imperialism to dominate colonies and former colonies through the imposition of one language on speakers of others. He explores this by examining the ideologies that are transmitted through the English language, particularly in English language teaching (ELT). Phillipson argues that the term 'imperialism' has been loosely applied to research, especially in 19th century where imperialism embraced both an economic order and wider societal goals, and to avoid this ambiguity he adopts the expression of *English linguistic imperialism*, describing the process as, 'the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages' (1992:47).

Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* looks at language policies in Third World countries and how these have been inherited from British colonial times. He specifically asks whether the learning of English has satisfied the needs of the receiving countries or the needs of the imposing nation by looking at ideologies that are transmitted through the English language. He attempts to unpick links between ELT and imperialism by examining language policies in countries that were once colonised by English speaking nations. Furthermore, he uses this to inform his research on why other languages have not had the global impact like the English language. In relation to ELT, Phillipson (1992) explores how the teaching profession promotes

the rule of English. Phillipson's aim is to establish a connection between imperialism and global structural relations that maintain and reproduce economic and cultural inequalities.

4.2.2 Approach

Phillipson's approach to the study came from his work with Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) on theorising language and power, relationships between dominant groups and mother-tongue and colonial languages. Their work attempted to integrate the viewpoints of dominated groups such as females, immigrants and speakers of mother-tongues and the viewpoints of dominant groups such as male groups and mother-tongues that have been adopted because of colonialism. This interest has strongly influenced Phillipson's work on determining whether the colonial policies of the British Empire, and their relationships with dominated groups, have caused English to become a dominant language. It seems, however, that Phillipson's analysis of relationships between dominated groups only examines how the dominant groups (colonials) have dominated indigenous groups against their will. In my study, I aim to explore the attitudes towards the English language within dominated groups to provide a clear indication of whether agency is a variable in language rise.

By noticing common occurrences in language rise narratives of the English language in ex-British colonies, Phillipson discovered that the English language is often reported as colonial nurture and success, pitching nature as the salient variable in the rise of the English language. It has been considered as natural as the expansion of English has been regarded a result of inevitable global forces despite there being some critical reference to the colonial imposition of English (Crystal, 1987; Pennycook 1994, 1998). Additionally, the expansion - as

summarised by Kachru (1986) – is due to the neutrality English has gained among natives as the ‘ruler’s’ language is now overshadowed by the economic benefits English brings to a nation.

Phillipson disagrees with this conventional view and discusses how political and economic systems are connected to English language teaching, exploring as far back as British colonial policy in the 16th century. He concludes that, ‘those working in the field of ELT tend to confine themselves, by choice and training, to linguistic, literacy, or pedagogical matters’ (Phillipson, 1992:8). Furthermore, he argues that ELT is an international activity with political, economic, military and cultural consequences.

4.2.3 Results

An example of the effects of government establishments on language policy is shown in India. Phillipson uses Thomas Macaulay’s speech and his formulation of British educational policy in the early 19th century to show that the encouraged use of the English language benefited Britain’s political and economic policies. Macaulay, a British politician, believed that the English language should be education’s priority while in India. ‘Orientalist’ traditions were weighed up against ‘Anglicist’ approaches and Macaulay believed that the English language could do for India what Latin and Greek did for Western Europe (Phillipson, 1992:110). Funding became allocated for the teaching of English and the power of English was strengthened in 1837 when it replaced Persian as the official language of law. The result of this was that English became the language of education, administration and commerce. According to Phillipson, ability in English became the gateway to all social and material benefits.

Likewise, by 1844 when results of the educational policy began to show, it was decreed that when Indians were recruited to posts beneath the government, preference would be given to those who received an English education. Phillipson argues that Macaulay had a 'seminal' influence on language policy throughout the British Empire and that his influence is still evident in language policy in present day.

The Imperial conferences of 1913 and 1923 recognised Macaulay's educational strategies. They concluded that English was the master language of the British Empire and that the role of education was to produce people with a refined skill in English. Additionally, Phillipson claims that education back in the 19th century showed the superiority of English that was embedded within the educational system. It is clear from his analysis of the history of colonial language policies in India that the dominant language of education was alien to the native Indian people. Furthermore, Phillipson argues that the primary goals of the colonial educational system in India was not to encourage language diversity between the indigenous groups and the colonisers, but was to ensure the successful learning of English maintaining the colonial model in all cultural aspects. Recent research, however, suggests that there was more solidarity between the British colonials and the Indian natives surrounding the acquisition of English (Canagarajah, 2007; Price, 2008). Phillipson's assessment of Macaulay delivers a British narrative that is informed by the activity of a British scholar. The attitudes of the indigenous population need to be considered in order to remove the heavily biased British narrative and to provide an assessment of language rise that considers both perspectives on colonisation.

This puts forward the idea that if the views of indigenous populations are explored, they may reveal whether agency was a factor in the rise of the English language in the 18th and 19th

centuries. Additionally, the view of the indigenous population from the present day need to be analysed to ensure existing research in LPP is reliable in current contexts and to determine if agency is factor in 21st century language rise. If this can be discovered, it could suggest there is more solidarity between nations regarding language policy than that that has been previously reported.

Phillipson's analysis of the British Council, who promote a wider knowledge of the English language, argues that government policy in English speaking countries has deliberately aimed to uphold the global use of English for economic and political purposes. By exploring government establishments, Phillipson demonstrates the limitations surrounding arguments that suggest the rise of the English language is a result of natural and accidental focuses. Phillipson's analysis of the British Council assumes that English is closely tied to British cultural forms despite there being an expanded circle of native-English speaking countries who may too have contributed to the rise of the English language. This is an aspect I will consider further in the discussion in chapter 10. Likewise, it would be interesting to explore why Britain as a nation is attached negatively to English - when other nations have English as their native language - and whether second language learners of English around the world associate the language with Britain.

4.2.4 Summary

Phillipson's approach to language politics has taken the ELT discipline head-on suggesting ELT teachers are responsible for sustaining an idea that English is superior than alternative languages. He has received criticism from multiple scholars, including Pennycook and

Canagarajah, for the approach he has taken. However, other scholars have used Phillipson's work as a platform to continue studies on Language Planning and Politics to further explore the global postcolonial use of the English language and the possible imposition this has had on second-language learners of English. Phillipson's arguments lack an indigenous perspective on language rise and due to this his work does not consider agency from the periphery or those who were affected by the rise of the English language.

4.3 Alastair Pennycook, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* and *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*.

Pennycook's references will be in relation to his work published in 1994 and 1998 unless otherwise stated.

4.3.1 Aims and motivations

Pennycook aims to analyse in greater depth how the spread of English sits in a complex shared relationship with both global and local discourses that have been encouraged by the spread and construction of English. Pennycook's motivation is stimulated by a reaction to critical theory. He believes that those who use critical theory leave no space for struggle, resistance, change or human agency. Pennycook views Phillipson's work as too rigid, and believes that many of his concepts are too general and too big as labels to do fairness to the complexity of many of the contexts he puts forward. Pennycook believes that his own model of colonial languages is more complex and that a discourse approach needs to be used to gain a better understanding of how discourse has contributed to ELT. Pennycook does agree that Phillipson's work is

significant in helping to understand how and why the global dominance of the English language has occurred and he accepts the importance of Phillipson's battle, but his own work takes a different focus.

4.3.2 Approach

According to Pennycook, his discourse approach allows him to form a critical pedagogy that could explain English and the discourses in which it is used and associated with. He states, 'this requires a view that on one hand makes language more central to global relations (more worldly) but on the other hand allows for struggle, resistance and different appropriations of language, opening a space for many different meanings' (Pennycook, 1994:69).

Pennycook and Phillipson both agree that a critical understanding of how ELT has been shaped by political and economic policies must be understood in order to begin to *decolonize* minds. However, Pennycook argues there is a need to investigate the construction of this discourse and its relationship to ELT. Like Phillipson, Pennycook argues that determining the spread of language as natural is to ignore the history of that spread and 'to turn one's back on larger global forces and the goals and interests of institutions and governments that have promoted it' (Pennycook, 1994:23). Pennycook reports that the most commonly-held view about how English has gained the position of global language is that England and the English language were superior and worthy of their growing domination. Although native speakers of English feel pride in the idea that it is their language which is succeeding, there is an element of concern for what may come of the English language and the changes it may develop. Crystal (1988:10) shares this view and states, 'changes are perceived as instances of deterioration in standards'.

Furthermore, this attitude is summed up as the spread of the English language as something which is spoiling and degrading the language itself (Pennycook, 1994:9).

Pennycook seeks ways to detach the idea that the spread of English is natural by exploring the social, cultural and political contexts of English. To help establish this, two themes run through his research. The first is developing his concerns with the limitations he sees in the dominant way of thinking about ELT in Applied Linguistics which has been served by variation studies and descriptions of the different forms of world Englishes. The second theme involves an attempt to think about the cultural and political implications the spread of the English language may have on wider society. Pennycook's discourse approach is followed through by analysing the discourse that has shaped ELT. He examines the colonial origins of the discourse as he explains that, 'it is probably impossible to develop an alternative understanding of English language teaching without looking in depth at how the dominant understanding in mainstream Applied Linguistics has come to be constructed' (1994:6). Furthermore, he argues that that discourse, because of colonialism, has produced ways of thinking, saying and doing.

4.3.3 Results

Pennycook contextualises his account of colonial discourses through his case study of Hong Kong. He states that the history of Hong Kong is complex and is largely categorised as colonial history. He notices that colonialism is narrated differently across books, ranging from academic textbooks to, how he describes, 'the new genre of coffee-table history books' (Pennycook, 1998:101). He notices, however, that despite the varied intentions of the books and the audiences of which they were aimed, the discourses of colonialism all agreed that the rise of

the English language was natural and had no accountability. Pennycook (1998:98) states, 'nineteenth century writers on language praised the spread of English as something given by God, as a matter of destiny, as something beneficial to the human race'. He goes on to argue that if a reader is attracted by the imperialistic narrative of such writing, it is easy to understand how English had been so widely spread during the colonial era. An example he used of colonial attitudes in Hong Kong was women in education. The government in Hong Kong allowed women to go to school to show that opportunities were offered to both men and women but women were only taught skills that enhanced their role as wives and mothers and were denied the skills that would have benefited them in society alongside their male counterparts. Pennycook argues that this structure ensured wives and women were used to further foster the colonial enterprise. On inspection, although the education of women seemed liberating, colonialism had to be seen to benefit from this. This allowed the British to put themselves in a position where they appeared to save the native woman of the colonised country despite not actually providing women with equal opportunities. Pennycook concluded that 'Orientalist' and 'Anglicist' motivations were evident here. The Anglicist approaches could be seen to enforce the English language in education whereas the Orientalist views were seen by the natives of Hong Kong who 'desired' to learn English to better their opportunities. Furthermore, Pennycook goes on to argue that both approaches were in favour of maintaining the colonial administration.

This example of colonial discourse does provide a vital insight into how English developed and maintained social structures but it also shares the same limitations that I found with Phillipson's example in India. This case study is narrated in the 20th century and not the present day. Although I am not suggesting that these case studies are false, I do ask whether attitudes

towards the English language have changed. Furthermore, exploring the attitudes of the English language within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in the 21st century may better inform whether agency contributes to the rise of the English language in contemporary society than colonialism as put forward by previous scholars. Additionally, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are no longer colonies of the United Kingdom and it can be questioned whether existing language policies are still enforced to promote the previous colonial power.

4.4 Crusoe Myth

Lacking from Pennycook's and Phillipson's investigation is the notion of choice. They both comment on the idea that individuals and countries are not free of ideological constraints when acquiring a new language but neither explore the possibility that agency could contribute to the rise of the English language. An element they do both consider, however, is the idea of colonials imposing on the indigenous. They both explain this through the narrative of Daniel Defoe's (1790/1910) *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. Pennycook relies on the constructions of *Self* and *Other* within his work to help explain the significance of colonialism on culture. He looks at how colonialism formed European culture and how European languages and cultures have been forced upon people. Phillipson reflects on Crusoe's teaching of the English language to Friday as a racial structure of western society within the peak of slavery. He interprets that there is an assumption by Crusoe that Friday wants to master the English language rather than learning his own native tongue. Likewise, Phillipson suggests this is evidence of iconic moments that have contributed to the global spread of English with the current British Council representing Crusoe, and the constant attempts to spread English. Phillipson represents Crusoe as an imperialist, who is a key figure in the European attempt to

gain political and economic control over other areas of the world. Pennycook agrees that Phillipson's observation is significant but acknowledges that a different interpretation can be drawn from Defoe's novel. Pennycook interprets Crusoe as the model of the committed way British created their empire. In terms of the fictional Other, it shows the violent wasteland in which the British created. Overall, as Crusoe may be represented as a master of imperialism, he can also be the model of insanity and the constructor of Other. Although Pennycook tries to understand how English language teachers walk in Crusoe's footsteps and how threatening it might seem to the Other, it has left a large unanswered gap about the agency of Other and their choice to learn the English language.

4.5 Summary of Phillipson and Pennycook

These attitudes do not consider the agency behind the acquisition of Standard English and the choice of an individual to acquire the language; instead, it insinuates that an individual is not given a choice on the language they may learn but is ideologically forced to acquire English in order to satisfy the colonial infrastructure. Recent work on colonial history spends a great deal of time stressing the importance of interpreting colonialism from both sides. Price states, 'by its very nature, the colonial encounter was a place of inter-relationships and hybridity where each participant was conditioned in some way by the behaviour of the other' (2008:5). This suggests that the use of a dual-perspective can offer a clearer outlook on history. By using Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994), both of whom position the English language as an imposition, I will identify whether agency is a variable in the rise of the English language in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Furthermore, this could change LPP models in postcolonial

nations, throwing light on new aspects that must be considered to ensure an informed, up-to-date methodology.

4.6 Challenges to Phillipson's and Pennycook's assessments

An early critique of Phillipson's work comes from Canagarajah (1995) who argues that Phillipson's treatment of the British and the British Council as responsible for language rise is inadequate. He claims that the United States Information Agency and the Asia Foundation have played a more significant role in the delivery of textbooks, funds and expertise (1995:591). He concludes that English linguistic imperialism cannot be understood without focussing on the activities of the US. He goes on to argue that Phillipson's model is outdated. Although Phillipson's work was ground-breaking at the time of production in the 1990s, his model remains abstract, impersonal and global (1995:592). He goes on to state, 'the book fails to capture the voices and acts of people in the periphery, to dramatize how linguistic imperialism is manifested or realised there' (1995:592). In relation to my study, this further supports the idea that a language rise model cannot be suitable without considering the perspective of the indigenous people. Phillipson's work lacks a micro-social perspective and the everyday experiences of peripheral communities (Canagarajah, 1999:42). Phillipson also uses documents that have been created by Western authors which do not necessarily represent the views of the periphery. Furthermore, alternative sources of information must be used. Phillipson's and Pennycook's input, therefore, opens a ground of inquiry that must be followed with theoretical complexity and methodological improvement in other locations of the Third World.

Mufwene (2010) also questions the assessments of Phillipson and Pennycook by arguing that if the English language is homogenising the world and causing languages and cultures to become extinct, then studies need to take place in global cities where - it could be argued - nations, along with their cultures, connect. Furthermore, the results of a new study may remove the mischaracterised label of English being a 'killer language'. Mufwene goes on to state that there are still cultural differences between the uses of the English language and uses the fast food chain McDonald's to help explain this. Even though the spread of McDonald's has been called 'Americanisation', a McDonald's restaurant in Hurgada, Egypt would be different to that in Birmingham, England in terms of menu choice, portion size and availability. Based on this, Mufwene states it is inaccurate to claim the end of cultural diversity as a result of the spread of the English language when nations can filter cultural influence from outside and adapt it to its local level (2010:34). He proceeds to argue that 'global' cities can maintain individualities that adapt to change and outside influences which keeps world-wide globalisation from making the world uniform (2010:35). The idea and influence of globalisation will be discussed in a later chapter.

Phillipson and Pennycook also refer to English being uniform around the globe despite the fact that, for example, Canadian English and Jamaican English are very different lexically and phonologically. In their assessments, they show little consideration of English heterogeneity despite cultures adapting and modifying the English language to suit varied contexts (Mufwene, 2010). Furthermore, if this is the case, it could be suggested that if the English language is not monolithic then a nation has the option to adapt it. Moreover, if it can be controlled, the threat of imposition could be removed.

4.7 The notion of ‘agency’

What appears to be absent from Phillipson’s and Pennycook’s work is the notion of ‘agency’. Phillipson and Pennycook have an understanding that the rise of the English language is a result of the colonisation in the 18th century and that rather than individuals choosing to acquire English, they are influenced by colonial frameworks in their postcolonial nations. They both argue that colonial ideologies are still evident in postcolonial nations. Below, I will define and discuss the current theory behind ‘agency’ in the field of linguistics and argue for the importance of considering agency in language rise models.

Bourdieu’s (1977, 1991) theory of socialisation proposed that two positions influence human behaviour: ‘structure’ and ‘agency’. Bourdieu’s aim was to apprehend the way people read, understand and interpret their everyday lives. He defines ‘structure’ as the repeated patterned arrangements which limit or influence the choices and opportunities of an individual. Bourdieu (1977) argues that this can be further understood through the notion of ‘habitus’ which refers to the embedded practical and cultural knowledge an individual draws on within a specific setting to achieve goals. When an individual, then, has been influenced by their habitus in a particular setting, cultural and symbolic power is created. On the other hand, Bourdieu argues that even though habitus has the potential to limit and influence, it does not determine the choice of an individual to perform an action (agency), suggesting an individual has an awareness of the goals they want to achieve and, therefore, the choices they make. Structure and agency, to an extent, could be considered competing entities: structure influences and determines the options available for an individual, whereas agency suggests that the outcome of the options, and therefore the effect of these, is reliant on an individual’s choice.

Other theorists support Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) positions and Archer (1995:65) simply describes that an individual's ability to be both an actor and agent is 'part and parcel of daily experience to feel both free and enhanced, capable of shaping our own future and yet confronted by towering seemingly impersonal constraints'. Karp (1986) and Norton (1997) also agree that an individual has the capacity to be an actor of rule-governing organisations, such as colonial administrations, but also have the capacity to be an agent that exercises power suggesting both can be influential. Norton (1977:411) states 'that a person is conceived as both a subject of and subject to relations of power within a particular site, community and society'.

In relation to Phillipson's and Pennycook's work, colonialism could be considered an example of a structural position which limits the choices of individuals. For example, during colonisation, the administration limited the use of Patwa and Creole in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Because of this, an individual may have monitored their activities and moved to acquiring English to live, civilly, in the colonised nations. As such, these individuals could have been considered as actors that further contributed to a large rule-governed power structure that were influenced and constrained by the colonial arrangement. On the other hand, an individual's 'agency' is considered as intentional and, specifically to this study, the intentional act of acquiring English (Giddens, 1984). Giddens states 'agency refers not to the intention people have in doing things, but their capability of doing things in the first place (which is why agency implies power)' (1984:9). The British colonial structure ended 60 years ago and Jamaicans and Trinidadians now have the capability to acquire the English language in present day which is facilitated through state education and private institutions as discussed in chapter 3. Furthermore, their choice to learn English using the available resources could be considered an act of agency. Colonialism has been explicitly absent from the West Indies for the past 60

years and it can be questioned whether this structure is still influencing human behaviour in 21st century Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago as much as Phillipson and Pennycook have put forward. Likewise, agency, along with the resources that are available to acquire English in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, may now play a role in the rise of the English language.

Modern social theorists such as Archer (1995), Bourdieu (1977, 1991), Dowding (2008), Giddens (1984) and Hurrelmann (1988) have attempted to find a point of balance between the two positions rather than isolating the two as separate entities. They see structure and agency as complementary forces but not necessarily equal at times. Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* (1977) bridges the two concepts under the term of 'field' referring to the setting in which agents are positioned as actors determined by conditions set by prior experiences, and agents of choice using their cultural knowledge to facilitate decisions in set contexts. Again, where a 'field' considers an individual to be both an actor (structure) and an agent (agency), consideration needs to be applied to both in explaining the rise of the English language.

Phillipson and Pennycook assume that individuals' interests are determined and constrained by the structure. Research that considers one of these positions and not the other could be seen to ignore the fundamental and core values of human behaviour, creating an illicit form of reduction and invalid conclusions. Additionally, exploring language rise from the perspective of the colonials and not the periphery does not represent the external reality of language acquisition in the West Indies, a view also supported by Canagarajah (1995, 1999). Canagarajah's critique of Phillipson's work, particularly, argued that he failed to acknowledge the micro- social perspective and the views of the periphery in his argument of language rise; instead, Phillipson produced results which did not reflect how 'linguistic imperialism' came to

affect the periphery. Canagarajah's (1995, 1999) assessment implies that those of the periphery have a more empowering position in society which should be explored to form suitable assessments on language rise. Exploring the views of the indigenous population towards the English language could identify if agency plays a role in the rise of language. Boudieu considers neither structure or agency to be more important; instead, he considers these to be complementary and, because of this, both need to be considered. If we concentrate on how the structure constrains or enables the agent to do what they want, we can examine the power of the individuals.

4.8 ELT and the British Council

Phillipson and Pennycook hold the ELT institution responsible for the English language rise and, hence, it is appropriate to describe ELT and the British Council context in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in order to analyse their models' relevance in the 21st century.

The British Council is a professional organisation in English language teaching. They work in over 100 countries across the globe in the fields of art and culture, English language, education and civil society. Their remit involves administering exams and teaching specialist, fee-paying language courses. Their Annual Report from 2016-2017 (British Council, 2017) states that they consistently reach over 20 million people each year face to face and more than 500 million online through their publications. Additionally, their reported revenue for the 2016-2017 year was over £1 billion showing the choice to learn the English language is a profitable and successful industry.

Currently in the Caribbean, the British Council have establishments within Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Cuba which specialise in the completion of both professional and university level exams. Additionally, these exams are accredited by British universities ensuring that the qualifications offered in these nations remain consistent with the UK. These courses are voluntary and a student may wish to sit an exam if there is a possibility of migration to the UK.

Despite there being an ELT business presence in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago that consists of administering exams and running specialised language courses, English teaching within the school curriculum appears to have more of an impact in these nations. As discussed in chapter 3, English has been imposed within Jamaican and Trinidadian school curriculums since 1834 when colonisers permitted missionaries to force slaves to engage and learn the English language. The formulation of the education system in the 19th century saw the acquisition of English take priority within the curriculum and English was further legitimised when it was made the language in the workplace, of law and of worship. After independence, the language planning of both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago recognised that a child needed to acquire English which was universally understood. It also recognised the facilitated use of languages in the communities within education, Jamaican Patwa and Trinidadian Creole, to achieve English proficiency. Overall, the stress on ELT, specifically the British Council, is unwarranted in Phillipson's and Pennycook's model.

It is worth noting that English is also the official language in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago so positioning ELT as responsible for the English language rise is not suitable in nations where English is recognised as an official language. Moving forward, an analysis of all English

teaching platforms, including private institutions and the school curriculum, needs to be considered to assess language rise and the suitability of Phillipson's and Pennycook's model.

4.9 Other work surrounding world English attitudes

Alongside the work of Phillipson and Pennycook, other scholars agree that the promotion and use of English has imposed on indigenous cultures.

The number of people learning English in China is greater than the total number of speakers of English in the USA (Saraceni, 2006:5). This has led to a shift in the numerical balance of power between native and non-native speaker groups of the English language (Crystal, 2003; Saraceni, 2006). This changing pattern in the 'ownership' of English has produced demographic changes in English usage around the world. Most commonly, many countries use English for information exchange among 'business people' and its use has been named as English as an International Language (EIL) as it detaches L2 speakers from the 'imposition' of native speaker norms as well as the 'cultural baggage of World English models' (Saraceni, 2006:8)

The notion of 'cultural baggage' has also been researched by Wierzbicka (2006) who proposed that the cultural baggage of English can be associated with English people's negligence of culture on thinking, speech and behaviour of non-native speakers. She suggests that the cultural baggage of English is delivered almost subconsciously. Using illustrations from International Aviation and International Law, Wierzbicka observes that these platforms must ensure that no misinterpretation can be drawn from the language due to the life and death scenarios these

scenarios could cause. An example Wierzbicka (2006) draws on is a word such as 'unreasonable' which does not have an equivalent translation from English to French and Spanish. Wierzbicka (2006: 303) discusses Article 13 - concerning copyright - of the international 'Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights' (TRIPS), accepted by the World Trade Organization in 1994. The official languages of this organisation are English, French, and Spanish but Article 13 in English, reads: 'Members should confine limitations or exceptions to exclusive rights to certain special cases which do not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work and do not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the right holder.' On the other hand, the translation in French and Spanish means to cause an 'unjustified' loss. Here, the word 'unjustified' does not mean the same as 'unreasonable'. Therefore, Wierzbicka (2006: 303) argues that some vocabulary must be understood via the prism of English. In terms of cultural baggage, Saraceni and Wierzbicka suggest that native English speakers - in the context of international communication - assume there is a direct translation from English to other languages and that speakers of English as a second language are aware of these meanings. In relation to Phillipson's and Pennycook's work, the world English models assume that the learning of the English language requires the acquisition of attitudes and values alongside the words and that a learner must accept these terms when learning English. Wierzbicka suggests that the English language continues to overlook cultural variation, imposing and restricting the freedom that a culture may bring to the English language, and that a second language speaker of English must conform to the values of the English language to be fully successful in the language.

4.10 Views from West Indian native scholars

Eric Williams's (1966) 'British Historians and the West Indies' suggests that the report of colonialism by British historians has treated the West Indies with 'metropolitan' extent. Williams was a Trinidadian politician and scholar who believed in the liberation of Trinidad and Tobago. His book was significant as it was the first published material that voiced the natives' concerns of the British colonisation. He argues that British historians were maintaining a racial supremacy, which at the time of the book's publication, was being upheld by familiar figures in Victorian England. He claims that Trinidad and Tobago was still tarnished by colonial branding. Williams believed that independence means new inspiration rather than old exhaustion and argues that, 'the independence of Trinidad and Tobago cannot be developed on the basis of intellectual concepts and attitudes worked out by metropolitan scholars in the age of colonialism' (1966:13). Furthermore, he argues that an independent country needs an independent mind that has not been reported or shared by European scholars who reflect on Trinidad and Tobago to better Britain's colonial position. Additionally, Williams states, 'their real opportunity for independence lies in their independent mind' (1966:13). Williams's book was originally written for West Indian readers to help them realise that they did not have an inferior status against the British. His book, to an extent, does shine light on the idea that historical narratives written from a single perspective may obscure what happened in the eyes of the natives. He is quick to grasp that a natives' account of their own history is an essential, perhaps determining, factor in its sense of its own identity. Although Williams (1966) does not discount British colonialism and the effect it has had within the West Indies, he does support the idea that once a nation becomes independent it should be left to create its own identity without the burden of British scholars narrating on their ex-colony. In Bullock's (1966) preface

to Williams's work, he draws attention to how the lack of native voice appears in postcolonial narratives. Bullock states, 'when similar views were expressed by the Germans about Jews and other 'non-Aryan' peoples, most Englishmen regarded them as detestable. What we have still not realised, however – and I cannot regard myself as an exception in this matter – is the extent to which our attitudes are unconsciously influenced still by these often barely recognised assumptions' (1966). William's work suggests that English in the Caribbean is bound by imperialists who have extended their colonial power to language policy, a view which supports that of Phillipson and Pennycook. William's work was produced in the decade of independence in Trinidad and Tobago and his views on language policy and colonialism may not represent more recent opinions. Additionally, William's position within politics as the founder of the People's National Party may have encouraged his outlook. Combining a present-day perspective of Jamaican and Trinidadian natives with the research produced by Phillipson and Pennycook will ensure a better understanding to discover whether agency has encouraged language rise in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

A recent Trinidadian scholar Mervyn Alleyne - who studied the post-independent period in the West Indies - found that Caribbean people have largely accepted European's views of their Creole languages. He states, 'Europeans viewed the cultures of people's over whom they ruled as 'savage' or 'primitive' and the Creole cultures of the Caribbean were not considered 'culture' at all' (Alleyne, 1988:152). Alleyne described this as cultural imperialism as cultural inequalities were maintained by the predominant languages that were used to reinforce the attitude that Creole was 'broken' or 'fragmented'. Furthermore, a hierarchal structure was formed, like the language structure described in chapter 3. Overall, Alleyne argues that the political consequences of the European colonisation on language and culture is still evident

now. This view corresponds with that of Williams who draws light to the negativities of colonialism in the West Indies. More interestingly, these views resemble those of both Phillipson and Pennycook.

4.11 Chapter summary

Phillipson and Pennycook analyse the detrimental effects of the English language on indigenous cultures within Asia and promote an argument that British colonialism has left an impression on ELT in countries such as India and China. Attitudes from additional scholars also support the idea that the English language carries an institutionalised power and that it delivers a message of prestige and opportunity. On reflection from native West Indian scholars, scholars of the West Indies are encouraging their native people to look beyond what is narrated by British scholars due to the westernised narrative they may tell. Additionally, both scholars maintain an idea that European colonisation was still evident in the Caribbean after independence. Specifically, Alleyne argues that cultures and languages have been oppressed by European activity.

Both native and non-native scholars appear to regard the rise of the English language negatively but neither scholar has explored the attitudes of the English language by the native people who live within ex-British colonies; instead, scholars have taken a structural focus looking at how colonialism restricted natives, excluding the consideration of agency in language rise. The likes of Bourdieu (1977, 1991) and Archer (1995) argue that agency, with structure, are two fundamental positions that negotiate human behaviour. As such, both need to be considered to form an accurate assessment on human behaviour (Canagarajah, 1999). Phillipson's and

Pennycook's work has had a significant effect in the field of language policy and I aim to discover whether their perspective can be applied to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in the 21st century. I will reassess their critiques on the spread of the English language by identifying if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. If this can be shown, it questions whether colonialism can still be considered the main driver behind language rise in the 21st century.

CHAPTER 5 - THE INFLUENCE OF GLOBALISATION

5.1 Overview

Recent scholars have put forward the idea that the rise of the English language is a result of colonialism (Crystal, 2003; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). Some, on the other hand, recognise that globalisation exists as a new social condition and that it deserves extensive treatment across all language disciplines (Coupland, 2010; Deuber, 2014; Mufwene, 2010). Mufwene (2010) points out that colonisation, in its various modes, has been characteristic of both more aggressive and more benign encounters between peoples throughout history. Furthermore, this can no longer be held on to when colonialism, in its raw form, is now an event of the past. In this section, I will explore the definition of globalisation and the current work surrounding it in the field of Language Policy and Planning. This section, when applied to the findings, will help determine whether colonialism can still be considered the major driver behind language rise.

I will be discussing globalisation in relation to colonisation to provide differences between these two processes. These will then be applied to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in order to better understand the rise of the English language.

5.2 What is globalisation?

Globalisation is the pursuit of free-market policies in the world economy covering political, economic and social trends (Garrett, 2010; Scheuerman, 2008). Although this process is not

new to mankind (the spread of language), the scale and speed at which it happens is evolving. Mufwene (2010:31) argues that globalisation has occurred because of the growth of reliable transportation and communications which has aided human movement and the exchange of larger amounts of information and goods. Some economic historians have claimed that world-wide globalisation can be traced back to colonisation in the sense that it is the political and economic domination of a territory (Mignolo, 2000; Osterhammel and Peterson, 2005).

Theorists have taken this definition and divided the phenomena of globalisation into three different avenues: westernisation, internet revolution and global integration (Ricento 2010, Schneurman 2008). The way in which the term ‘globalisation’ is used in public and academic discourse, however, has led Fairclough (2006) to distinguish three approaches to globalisation. *Hyperglobalists* consider globalisation as the emergence of a single global market and identify it as positive, while others such as neo-Marxists, repute it negatively. On the other hand, *skeptics* believe that globalisation happens on a regional scale with Europe, East Asia and North America as the main economic platforms (Ricento, 2010:123). The *transformationalists* agree with the hyperglobalists but they claim that globalisation is more complex, arguing that it is unprecedented and unpredictable. Eriksen (2007:143) points out multiple salient characteristics of contemporary globalisation that cut across the approaches mentioned above. These include:

1. Disembedding – The ability for economic and technological changes to travel much faster.
2. Standardisation – The uniformity across nations in regards to international agreements and business for example commercial hotels.

3. Interconnectedness – Connecting between nations requires more international agreements which may create new opportunities and could, at times, create new constraints.
4. Movement – Increasing migration through travel and leisure.
5. Mixing – The joining of different cultures: physically and virtually.
6. Vulnerability – The weakening of borders means that political units have difficulty in protecting themselves from epidemics, terrorism, climate change and financial crashes.
7. Re-embedding – A counter action to disembedding, re-embedding means to embed economic and technological changes back into society.

Colonisation, as described in the historical context of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, saw a large degree of violence and exploitation. On the other hand, the emergence of globalisation has allowed international bodies, including the UN, to be established to restore world order and to prevent further bloodshed. The idea that the international agreements and bodies were formed as a result of the devastation caused from the colonial period supports the idea that globalisation can be traced back to colonisation and the notion of postcolonialism (Mignolo, 2000). Another difference is that during colonisation, countries involved themselves with other countries by force but stronger countries now get themselves involved with the weaker nations through trade and investment, supporting Eriksen's (2007) characteristic of interconnectedness.

5.3 Existing research on language and globalisation

Scholars in language policy studies (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2007,) have often taken hyperglobalist and transformationalist positions towards globalisation. Pennycook, in more recent years, presents a different perspective to that of his work in the 90s. His work begins to become receptive to globalisation and he takes a transformationalist approach to seek to understand the role of the English language in terms of power, control and destruction, and the complexity of resistance, change and identity (2007:5). He states that research needs to go beyond the arguments of homogeneity and imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) and focus on an idea that English is a translocal language which is fluid and can migrate. His approach considers the historical past, which some scholars have claimed was the initial signs of globalisation, but is receptive to the idea that there are new forces of globalisation which demand new ways of thinking. Based on this, he argues that to an extent globalisation can be predicted but due to the ever-changing global relation and multiple influences around the world, globalisation needs to consider the idea that it is ‘global’ – not dominated by Western powers – and that this is different to the history of dominance, or colonisation, of 200 years ago.

5.4 The role of English in globalisation

Many scholars have come to regard English as the global language (Crystal, 2003; Phillipson, 1992; Saraceni, 2015) so it is important to focus on how this is known as such. Crystal (2003) claims that 2.24 billion people live in a territory where English is classed as an official language or co-official language. The number of these users that speak English as a first language (L1) is estimated at 330 million and the number of users of English as a second language (L2) is

roughly 430 million. Additionally, if speakers of English derived Creoles and pidgins were considered as L1 then there are around 400 million speakers of English as a first language. Based on these figures, if this data continues to follow Crystal's trends, then the world will see a decline in number of L1 speakers of English putting forward an idea that English may not facilitate globalisation as well as it has done.

English is an official or working language of almost all the main international organisations including the UN, the Commonwealth, the EU and the World Bank. Crystal (2003) conducted a study on 12,000 international organisations in the world. He sampled 500 of these organisations and found that 85% of them used English as an official language. The second most common language to be used was French at 49%. Interestingly, one third of the sample used only English to communicate (Crystal, 2003:88) suggesting a value of the English language in serving business. From this, it can be understood why businesses maintain the use of the English language because of the well-rooted position it has in this sector.

English has also had an impact on the media through broadcast and print platforms. Pennycook (2007) states that in popular culture, English has travelled to every point of the globe through music, film and sports. He argues that English is not an immovable language but has been adapted, modified and transformed in varied contexts of its use around the world, an argument supported by Mufwene (2010) who also believes that English can be adapted. On the other hand, despite the commercial positives this supplies, Ricento (2010:129) states 'it cannot be denied that the dominant status of English in scientific discourse and publication has coincided with the rise of the US as a super power and with all that entails in economic, political and military gains'. Ammon (1998) - cited in Hamel (2007) – found that between 1992 and 1997,

95% of all publications in physics were in English. A comparable pattern also emerged in social sciences and humanities. Therefore, a scientist with a limited working proficiency in English may find it difficult to emerge in the field. In regards to the number of English speakers around the world, as mentioned by Crystal (2003), the markets that require English (business and science) are not available for the majority of the world's population. Furthermore, this acknowledgement in the value of the English language may lead global nations to adapt their language policy to include English language teaching. In regards to Phillipson's model, the rise of the English language may be seen to have gone beyond the notions of colonisation (politics and economics) as it is now being used in all areas of cultural influence too.

5.5 Chapter summary

It is not uncontroversial to suggest, based on existing work (Canagarajah, 1999; Mufwene, 2010) and the focus on colonisation (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994), that a new language rise model may need to consider other structural processes, such as globalisation, that have emerged in 21st century society. As such, if agency can be identified as a factor in language rise, it poses the question whether colonialism can still be considered as the significant driver. If it is found that colonialism may no longer be the major driver behind language rise, it could be other structural forces, such as globalisation, that may instead affect language rise. Furthermore, as previously argued by Bourdieu (1977, 1991) structural positions, such as colonisation and globalisation, still need to be considered alongside agency in determining language rise; thus, attention to these is still present within this study.

CHAPTER 6 – METHODOLOGY

6.1 Aims and research questions

To reiterate, in this dissertation, I explore the attitudes towards the English language in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and assess ‘periphery’ views against the arguments that are presented by Phillipson (1992, 1994) and Pennycook (1994, 1998). I argue that Phillipson’s and Pennycook’s focus on structure as the reason for language rise is excessive given that social theory proposes that agency, as well as structure, form the two fundamental positions in human behaviour. As such, it seems appropriate to explore agency in language rise models where previous theory has taken a structural focus. I will identify if agency plays a role in language rise and, based on this outcome, will assess the suitability of Phillipson’s and Pennycook’s model on postcolonial English language rise. Finally, in the light of the analyses, I will discuss whether colonialism, in the present day, should still be held responsible for the rise of English.

6.2 Considered methods

The preliminary strategy for the data collection was to use focus groups with participants who were from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This method would have allowed me to collect data on the uncertainties, ambiguities and group processes that may have led to the general outstanding consensus that the English language is seen to impose upon indigenous cultures (Bloor et al, 2001:4). Focus groups could have been used to contest existing claims, such as those put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook, and illustrate the provision character of personal opinions. Furthermore, these aspects of attitudes cannot be demonstrated solely as

part of a quantitative study, and the method of focus groups could have allowed a hypothesis to be checked because the form of an interview-like structure would have shown whether an item or experience evoked disagreement among members of the group and could have exposed a range of contrasting views. This method was identified as most appropriate to use as I had intended to explore Jamaican's and Trinidadian's feelings, opinions, emotions and experiences towards the English language in order to identify agency.

I started the process of gathering Jamaican and Trinidad and Tobago participants by contacting the African and Caribbean Societies of Midlands-based universities. I approached Midland universities because of their accessibility from Birmingham and the commutable location of conducting multiple focus groups. However, I received very little interest in the study and although I attempted contact with the groups multiple times, it proved that the organisation of a focus group would have been problematic while also suggesting that numbers of students who travel from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to complete their studies is minimal. Furthermore, on inspection, I learned that in 2015 only 1.2% of all UK university students had come from South America (including the Caribbean) to study an undergraduate or postgraduate course (Universities UK, 2015). This, consequently, was not a workable approach in consideration of accessibility, practicality and time. Consequently, I decided instead to work with two-sets of secondary data to explore attitudes towards the English language to identify if agency plays a role in language rise.

6.3 Research design

The main methodological choice was to use a case-study approach to examine two sets of existing publically-accessible documentary data, the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (2005) and the political party manifestos, to throw light on language attitudes in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Definitions of ‘case study’ suggest that they are not a research method in themselves but are in fact objects which a variety of tools can be drawn on to study that object (Duff, 2007; Hood, 2009; Stake, 1995). Theorists go on to explain that a case study is bounded by an individual (or institution) and the contextual features that advise the relationship between the two. An analysis of the relationship between the author and the historical and social context of the texts, could reveal hidden meaning which may indicate agency in language rise. Likewise, as the boundaries between the author and the context become fluid and interchange, it is the role of the researcher to provide suitable tools to analyse the phenomenon (Hood, 2009:69). In relation to my study, I read and analysed the texts thoroughly and highlighted instances of key words that relate to the theme of language rise. I then used the historical background of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and the context of each political party to further explore the data. By using a focussed analysis - looking at the instances of key words within the theme of language rise – and drawing on historical and political context, I was able to explore the Jamaican and Trinidadian political party manifestos within general elections and identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. My choice of a focussed analysis method is discussed further in section 6.6.

A case study, according to Denscombe (2007:35), is usually based on a pre-determined theory and the study can have an underlying rationale. My study has been influenced by the theoretical arguments that have been put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook and I aim to investigate whether their model can be applied to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The use of a theory-led case study approach ensures the explanation of causes and relationships within a setting. It can be used as an illustration of how a theory applies and can be tested for experiments where additional factors may need to be considered (Denscombe, 2007; Duff, 2007; Hood, 2009). I will assess the suitability of Phillipson's and Pennycook's postcolonial language model in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and identify whether agency is a factor in language rise. This specific factor, if identified, could alter existing postcolonial language rise theories so they consider the choice a person may have in acquiring the English language.

6.4 Manifestos

It is important to first explain the selection of political party manifestos as data for this study. The choice was encouraged by the ideological data that Pennycook referred to in his study. Pennycook (1994, 1998) used historical language education policies in Hong Kong, Singapore and India to identify the colonial ideologies that were implicit in ELT and how these reproduced colonial discourses. Based on this, it seemed appropriate to maintain this similarity to assess the suitability of their model. The use of documents such as political party manifestos can reveal a great deal about the organisation that produced them and the social context in which they were created. On the other hand, like all secondary data, political party manifestos are produced for the purposes of persuading the populace to vote for their party; as such, they are not produced with the intention to be used as data and for the specific aims of this

investigation. Due to this, interpretations may be limited by the discourse of political documents.

The political party manifestos have been written with the purpose of displaying party aims with the hope that the people of the nation will support them. A political party manifesto is an ideological document which has an existence beyond the writer and the context in which it is produced. They are public documents which can be used to influence the voting nationals of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and often represent positive and negative attitudes towards past experiences. The manifestos I looked at were commonly presented as online documents, which were records of the originals, with images and supporting text that was presented in brief bullet points.

Political party manifestos are coherent statements of policy commitment that link political party candidates to voters (Harmel, 2016). Harmel (2016) argued that manifestos have a purpose of directly appealing to voters and that parties develop manifestos to outline their position on issues. Bara (2005:585) states manifestos ‘consist of statements connoting intentions, emphases, promises, pledges, policies or goals to be activated should that party achieve office’. Furthermore, these statements appeal to the existing followers of the party and new prospective supporters.

Current research on manifestos (Bara, 2005; Kavanagh, 1981) has suggested that the dimensions of the manifesto content could represent greater importance in theory building. For example, the differences in length of the manifesto, whether measured in number of sentences or pages, could reflect different purposes of the manifesto, the different ideologies and possible

differences in the size of the party. Additionally, the varying number of pledges may reflect differences in the system in which a party operate and difference in characteristics such as ideology (Harmel, 2016:234). The detail of the pledges also contributes to the primary purpose of the manifesto. According to Bara (2005:589), a ‘vague’ pledge specifies commitment but is defined weakly. A ‘general’ pledge commits the party to an action but does not include precise detail while ‘specific’ pledges outline the intention along with the action to be taken to fulfil the pledge. Moreover, Harmel (2016) discovered that the level of pledge detail varies across parties and time.

Aside from the topic of pledges, many parties use ‘rhetoric’ to describe past behaviours, whether of their own party or their opposition, which reveal important values of the parties (Harmel, 2016; Kavanagh, 1981). Kavanagh (1981:10) reported that the British Labour party manifesto of 1979 referred frequently to the significance of ‘fairness’ and ‘care’ and was clearly aimed at ‘working people’. The Conservative party manifesto retained a different vocabulary of ‘freedom’, ‘balance’ and ‘incentives’. Kavanagh discovered that Labour appeared as divisive and unable to ‘speak for the nation’ while the Conservative emphasis was to create a working and growing economy with human nature as its priority. Still, the rhetoric of manifestos can contain important indications to the values of the parties and the targets of their proposals.

Political party manifestos may contain latent data. As such, some evidence may exist that suggests agency is a factor in rise of the English language but this could be undeveloped. Due to this, these manifestos will not provide a complete account of Jamaican and Trinidadian

language attitudes as the information provided has been selected to satisfy the form and purpose of party manifestos.

6.4.1 Selection of manifestos

Researchers such as Craig (1970, 2007), Deuber (2013) and Williams (1964, 1966) have suggested that attitudes towards the English language in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago during the period of independence from the 1960s until present times compromised the use of the indigenous languages of Jamaican Patwa and Trinidadian Creole. This view is also supported by Phillipson and Pennycook who argued that colonialism has advanced at the expense of indigenous cultures. For this reason, I have chosen manifestos from the late 1970s to assess whether the opinions that have been put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook are valid. I have then compared them to the most recent party manifestos in 2015 and 2016 to explore whether attitudes towards the English language have changed. These findings helped assess the suitability of Phillipson's and Pennycook's models in present day postcolonial language theory in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and other postcolonial nations. Likewise, an analysis of this data indicated whether existing models on language rise need revising in the field of language planning and policy.

Another factor I considered when picking the political party manifestos was the parties which these manifestos represented. I analysed the political manifestos of the two most popular parties in Jamaica and in Trinidad and Tobago. Choosing manifestos from both governing and opposing parties ensured that political bias was eliminated from my analysis. Thus, socialist

and nationalist values could both be analysed together. To this end, I used political party websites to find out the results of past elections.

6.4.2 Sincerity of official documents

A political party manifesto publishes and makes promises but it is the role of parliament to pass legislation. Consequently, the policies promulgated in a manifesto may not be enacted in government. Cynically, manifestos may address the greed of the politicians for them to maintain their position in cabinet with little hope of materialising their policies. Scott (1990:23) states, ‘many official documents are based on a political interest in presenting one view rather than another, in transforming propaganda into apparently sincere ‘information’ or in justifying a particular choice or action’. Based on this, it could be suggested that certain policies may not be in the best interest of the state and the electorate as the author may seek some practical advantage which may involve deceiving their reader. In order to mitigate for that, I have used the findings from the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (2005), which primarily represented Jamaicans’ views and attitudes, as discussed below, to provide perspective on language beyond that of politicians.

6.5 The Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (2005)

Alongside political party manifestos, I have chosen to incorporate the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica that was discussed in chapter 3 (JLU, 2005). The Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (2005) is an example of a micro-social perspective that Phillipson and Pennycook do not consider in their work. Canagarajah’s (1995) critique of Phillipson’s work, as discussed

in the Theoretical Framework chapter, argued that Phillipson's study failed to acknowledge the views of the periphery in his argument of language rise; because of this, results produced may have been seen to ignore how 'linguistic imperialism' affected colonials. The survey, then, could reveal views of the indigenous population. Despite being secondary data, the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (2005) was invaluable to my study because of its focus on indigenous language attitudes. However, this data was not collected by myself and, therefore, the conditions in which this data was collected were not within my direct control. Due to this, some of this data was inappropriate (that is, it does not relate to my research questions) but a large portion was relevant to this study.

The survey was conducted by the Jamaican Language Unit, part of the University of West Indies, in 2005 with 1000 participants. The survey was conducted to find out the views of native Jamaicans towards Jamaican Patwa and Jamaican Standard English. Patwa was compared against the English language in its use in education, communication and forming social stereotypes. This survey was useful as it provided an in-depth account of Jamaican views towards language and how languages were used in society. At the same time, it must be noted that the original focus of the survey was to assess the views of Jamaicans towards the indigenous language Patwa and not explicitly the attitudes towards the English language. In the following, I have re-analysed and interpreted this past data to help identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language.

6.6 Method

This study used a focussed analysis using certain words and their occurrences to explore the political party manifestos to identify if agency plays a role in rise of the English language.

This study used a focussed analysis on a lexical level to identify instances of specific words relating to the theme I am investigating. The texts were coded using specific terms that were informed by previous reading and the aims of this study: I searched the manifestos for any reference to 'English language' and then the words 'English' and 'language' in isolation. This also included the term 'literacy' as this represents spoken, written and reading skills. To address values conveyed in the text, I searched for the terms 'colonialism' and 'globalisation' including the variation in suffixes these terms had. These are terms Phillipson and Pennycook referred to in their work when explaining English language rise; an assessment of these terms could identify if the attitudes submitted by Phillipson and Pennycook mirrored the values represented in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. I also searched for 'Patwa/ Patois' and 'Creole' to identify instances of the indigenous, first languages in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to further discover the language attitudes in these nations. Overall, I have considered all possible terms that relate to language rise and that represent literal reference to the English language, education, colonialism, globalisation and indigenous languages. The instances, then, of these terms provided the initial evidence to identify whether agency plays a role in language rise which also allowed me to simplify and structure the large amount of data within the manifestos to organised segments for analysis. To ensure accuracy when checking for the specific terms and their frequency, the documents that were not available as digital copies were digitised using

an optical character recognition (OCR) programme and then manually checked. These manifestos can be found within the appendices.

The frequency of these terms was then placed into a chart to represent the amount of times the specific terms were used in the 1970s and 21st century manifestos. From here, a focussed analysis of the specific term, using the surrounding lexical context of the term and the wider-historical context explained in chapter 2 and 3, allowed a deeper exploration of the attitudes towards the English language and to uncover the nuances within the texts which could not have been retrieved using qualitative analysis. With a specific agenda of identifying agency in language rise, the attitudes discovered allowed me not just to identify whether agency plays a role in language rise, but also to examine how agency may be affected by the surrounding contexts, leading to my second aim of exploring whether colonialism can still be considered the major driver behind English language rise in the 21st century, as argued by Phillipson and Pennycook.

My analyses and findings will be presented in the Data Analysis chapter.

6.7 Ethical considerations

As my study required no human participants, no ethical consideration was needed in order to conduct my study.

CHAPTER 7 – THE LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SURVEY OF JAMAICA

7.1 Overview

The Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (2005) is an example of past data that was conducted by the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU) of the University of the West Indies to assess the views of Jamaicans towards Jamaican Creole (Patwa) as a language. This data was not collected by myself, and therefore, the conditions in which the data was collected were not in my direct control. I have selected the parts of the dataset that are germane to my research.

Within this survey, Patwa was compared against the English language in its use in education, communication and forming social stereotypes. Many of the participants had a positive view of Patwa and believed that Patwa should be made an official language by the government alongside English. Several reportedly stereotypical views were also held by numerous participants and significant relationships were found between the demographics of the participants and the language variables. The findings of this survey can help me assess whether language attitudes have changed from the independence of Jamaica until present time by drawing on groups who were present during the beginning of the independence and comparing them to younger generations to identify if agency is a variable in language rise. On the other hand, the original focus of the survey was to assess the views of Jamaicans towards the indigenous language Patwa and not the attitudes towards the English language. Although the survey considers the English language against the use of Patwa, I will re-analyse and interpret this past data to help identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language.

This secondary data, alongside the examples of political party manifestos, will further help me identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. The attitudes that can be discovered in this survey can unearth the outlooks of the English language and how this language may exist alongside Patwa. Additionally, the survey may reveal whether colonialism is still an important variable in language rise as argued by Phillipson and Pennycook. This survey is only relevant to my findings in Jamaica but it could indicate language attitudes in the West Indies as a whole.

7.2 Profile of sample

The island-wide study involved 1000 participants across the west, east and central parts of Jamaica and included three age categories and gender. The age groups of 18-30, 31-50 and 50-80+ were all equally weighted and divided, likewise by gender, but 60% of these participants were from eastern Jamaica meaning the data was significantly larger in this area. These participants were further split into occupation categories with clerical/sales/services and skilled/craftsman/farmer forming the largest majority within the cohort.

Although the survey is informative, covering topics such as language awareness, government and public use, education and writing in a standard form, I have selected language awareness and education within the survey to examine. I will then move onto describing the trends that are evident within the data and begin to signpost possible explanations for the language attitudes discovered.

7.3 Language Awareness

The language awareness section of the survey set out to find out what respondents declared themselves speakers of and whom they would speak English and Patwa to. The languages of focus within this study were Jamaican Standard English and Jamaican Patwa and those who answered with a different language were not considered (JLU, 2005). The table below represents the results.

Table 3: Sample Distribution of Languages Spoken (N=1,000)			
What Languages do you Speak?		Frequency	(%)
<i>English</i>		109	(89.3%)
<i>Patwa</i>		105	(88.9%)
<i>Both</i>		784	(78.4%)
To whom do you speak?		Frequency	(%)
English	<i>Friends/Family only</i>	79	7.9%
	<i>Strangers/Co-workers</i>	571	57.1%
	<i>Everyone</i>	262	26.2%
	<i>No One</i>	88	8.8%
Patwa	<i>Friends/Family only</i>	629	62.9%
	<i>Strangers /Co-workers</i>	32	3.2%
	<i>Everyone</i>	285	28.5%
	<i>No One</i>	54	5.4%

Table 2. Table 3, *Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica*, 2005.

From Table 3 (2005) above, it can be seen that most of the respondents (78.4%) stated they spoke both English and Patwa. Also, 57% of those who spoke English would speak English to strangers/co-workers. This is a large contrast to only 3.2% of the sample who said they would almost certainly speak Patwa to the same group. The highest figure of those who would speak

Patwa is friends and family (62.9%) compared to English where only 7.9% would speak English to the same group. The higher percentage numbers of speakers who would communicate in Patwa to those with a close relationship such as friends/family only suggests the relationship and closeness between the two speakers may determine which language is used.

The data shows that a speaker is more likely to speak English than Patwa to a greater number of people. Despite attitudes during the independence period suggesting that the English language was the by-product of British colonisation which denied colonised nations of their individuality (Beckford Wassink, 1999; Deuber, 2009; Williams, 1966), the survey shows people are more likely to use English rather than Patwa. The choice of language at an individual level, as shown above, may show the perceived value of the minority language related to the majority language. Furthermore, an individual's choice in this situation may show their opinion of this issue. I will consider these findings in the discussion chapter to help identify if agency can be considered as a variable in language rise.

7.4 Language use and stereotypes

This part of the survey aimed to identify the stereotypes individuals held of speakers of either Standard Jamaican English or Jamaican Patwa. Although there is a clear distinction of language use in table 3 above, animosity towards Patwa - which has been reported by Deuber (2014) and Beckford Wassink (1999) in chapter 3 - can be seen in the table below.

Table 9: Sample Distribution of Stereotypes (N=1,000)			
Which Speaker do you think:		Frequency	(%)
Is more Intelligent	<i>Patwa</i>	73	7.7%
	<i>English</i>	550	57.8%
	<i>Neither/Both</i>	329	34.6%
Is more Honest	<i>Patwa</i>	283	31%
	<i>English</i>	278	30.4%
	<i>Neither/Both</i>	353	38.6%
Is more Educated	<i>Patwa</i>	59	6.2%
	<i>English</i>	591	61.7%
	<i>Neither/Both</i>	308	32.2%
Is more Friendly	<i>Patwa</i>	379	39.8%
	<i>English</i>	240	25.2%
	<i>Neither/Both</i>	333	35%
Has more Money	<i>Patwa</i>	77	8.8%
	<i>English</i>	390	44.7%
	<i>Neither/Both</i>	406	46.5%
Is more Helpful	<i>Patwa</i>	300	31.9%
	<i>English</i>	292	31.1%
	<i>Neither/Both</i>	348	37%

Table 3. *Table 9, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005.*

The table indicates that English is more frequently accredited with positive features than Patwa. The participants of this survey tended to see speakers of English as more intelligent and more educated. 34.6%, just over a third of the sample, decided speakers of neither language would be more intelligent while 31% of the informants felt that the Patwa speaker would be more honest, compared to 30.4% who thought the same of the English speaker. Merely 8.8% of the sample believed that speakers of English would have more money but nearly half (46.5%) thought that neither speaker of English or Patwa would be more financially secure. These

stereotypes do not clearly separate the languages with social labels. This could suggest that Jamaicans may not consider either language to provide more opportunity. Therefore, language appears to not be limited by the stereotypes that are attached to it. Nevertheless, this lack of distinction may also support the arguments put forward by Craig (1999, 2006) who argues that these two languages cannot be separated easily due to the close similarities and relationship of Standard Jamaican English and Jamaican Patwa. This could suggest that more implications may happen as a result of separating the languages, for example in the school classroom where it is not unknown for a teacher to code-switch between Standard Jamaican English and Jamaican Patwa (Deuber, 2009). Therefore, separating these two languages may put those students who only speak one language at a disadvantage. This could pose the question: can social stereotypes of a language emerge if Standard Jamaican English and Jamaican Patwa are not easily differentiated and are used closely in the same contexts? If this is the case, then it could be suggested that if both languages share the same exposure to speakers, English does not appear to deny Patwa the chance to become a more prominent language. Based on this, it could be implied that the use of either English or Patwa is the responsibility of the individual speaker. As such, it could be suggested that a speaker may consider the social stereotypes associated with a language before deciding to communicate. If this is true, then it could be suggested that a speaker is accountable for how far the contexts of English and Patwa impact a their identity.

According to the survey, it is beginning to appear that attitudes towards Patwa have become increasingly positive since the independence in 1962 (Beckford Wassink, 1999; Craig, 1990) but these do not appear to have been at the expense of the English language. This could imply that while Patwa is becoming more socially attractive as a separate language, English remains

useful, and possibly prestigious, to the people of Jamaica. Therefore, while Jamaicans are not encouraging the use of English as the prominent language in Jamaica, it could be suggested they are maintaining it. I will develop this point further within the discussion in chapter 10.

7.5 Jamaican Patwa as an official language

This section of the survey was about the general views of Jamaican Patwa as a language.

Table 18: Sample Distribution of Writing Variables (N=1,000)		
Is Patwa a Language?	Frequency	(%)
<i>Yes</i>	795	79.5%
<i>No</i>	205	20.5%
Should Parliament make Patwa an Official Language		
<i>Yes</i>	684	68.5%
<i>No</i>	264	26.5%
<i>Don't Know</i>	50	5%
Would you want to see Patwa written on:	Frequency	(%)
<i>Road Signs</i>	489	48.9%
<i>School Books</i>	573	57.3%
<i>Medicine Bottles</i>	451	45.1%
<i>Government Forms</i>	438	43.8%
<i>Weed Spray</i>	461	46.1%

Table 4. *Table 18, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005*

Nearly 80% of the sample thought Patwa was a language and nearly 70% felt that parliament should make it an official language. Additionally, roughly 50% of the participants would prefer to see Patwa included in school books and road signs.

It can be inferred from the results that the participants wanted to encourage Patwa alongside English but there was a divide among the respondents about how far Patwa should impact an

individual's life. This suggests, that to some, there was a value of the English language in Jamaica but the Jamaicans still desired the recognition of Patwa. This could imply that the respondents may have wanted English and Patwa to have the same exposure in Jamaica, possibly including the symbolic value that is afforded to them within society and the wider global context.

7.6 Education

This part of the survey set out to discover Jamaicans' thoughts on the education system. The participants were asked to decide which school would be better for a child in Jamaica: the English Only School or the English and Patwa School.

Table 16: Which school would be better for the Jamaican Child (N=1,000)	
	Frequency (%)
<i>The English Only School</i>	288 (28.9%)
<i>The English and Patwa School</i>	708 (71.1%)

Table 5. *Table 16, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005*

According to table 16, a large majority of the sample agreed that a Jamaican child's education is best served by an English and Patwa speaking school. This result complements table 3 in which an overwhelming majority of the informants declared themselves speakers of English and Patwa; therefore, making education in Jamaica more accessible. The table below separates the results into demographic categories.

Table 17: Which school would be better by Gender, Age, Area & Region			
Gender $\chi^2(1) = 2.63; p = 0.106$	Type of School		TOTAL
	English Only Count(%)	English & Patwa Count(%)	
Male	133 (26.6%)	367 (73.4%)	n =288 100%
Female	155 (31.3%)	341 (68.8%)	n =496 100%
Age Groups $\chi^2(2) = 15.76; p = 0.000$	English Only Count(%)	English & Patwa Count(%)	TOTAL
18-30yrs	83 (24.9%)	250 (75.1%)	n =333 100%
31-50yrs	83 (24.9%)	250 (75.1%)	n = 333 100%
51-80+yrs	122 (37%)	208 (63%)	n = 330 100%
Area $\chi^2(1) = 3.80; p = 0.051$	English Only Count(%)	English & Patwa Count(%)	TOTAL
Urban	164 (31.6%)	355 (68.4%)	n =519 100%
Rural	124 (26%)	353 (74%)	n =477 100%
Region $\chi^2(2) = 1.62; p = 0.445$	English Only Count(%)	English & Patwa Count(%)	TOTAL
Western	63 (31.5%)	137 (68.5%)	n =200 100%
Central	51 (25.8%)	147 (74.2%)	n =198 100%
Eastern	174 (29.1%)	424 (70.9%)	n =598 100%

Table 6. Table 17, Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, 2005.

When looking at table 17, age was significantly related to the type of school a Jamaican would wish a child to go to. Although there was not much difference between the younger age categories, the 51-80+ age category were less in favour of an English and Patwa speaking school compared to an English-only school. This trend is significant because the participants of the oldest age group may have been present in Jamaica during the independence. Moreover, this age group experienced the independence of Jamaica from colonial Britain which has been

described by Higman (2011) and Parry et al (1987) as a release from imperialist rule that controlled culture and language. Therefore, the participants' view in this survey compared with that of Beckford Wassink (1999) suggests that English may have been preferred above Patwa in the 1960s despite the push for social and cultural independence. On the other hand, these respondents may be holding onto the symbolic value of English, which was afforded through years of colonial ideologies and evident in the linguistic history of Jamaica as discussed in chapter 3. As such, the idea of Creole being a 'fragmented language' might be an ideology that still influences the older generations. I will further explore this point in chapters 9 and 10 by considering the reasons why people learn English.

If the population of Jamaica was in favour of the English language post-independence, then the narratives that have been put forward by Mühleisen (2001) may not represent fully the language policy in Jamaica. An exploration of Jamaican political party manifestos can further identify if English is promoted in Jamaica and whether agency does contribute to the rise of language. Furthermore, if agency is identified, it puts forward the idea that new narratives surrounding language rise in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago need to be adapted to provide a more accurate account of language rise.

7.7 Chapter summary

From the survey, I can infer that while attitudes towards Patwa are positively growing, values are still afforded to the English language. Results from the survey show that the English language is still regarded positively and is valued in Jamaica. Additionally, when comparing the attitudes of Patwa against English, Patwa does not appear inferior to English with

informants preferring an English and Patwa school rather than an English-only school. Also, informants are more likely to be speakers of both languages with neither language associated to negative stereotypes according to the survey. If Standard Jamaican English can live alongside Patwa without either language suffering, it does suggest there is a choice among the Jamaican people to maintain the English language while also promoting the recognised use of Patwa. Using this data with the analysis of the political party manifestos, I can further identify if agency plays role in the rise of the English language. Overall, this will further help assess the suitability of Phillipson's and Pennycook's findings when applied to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and the West Indies as a nation.

CHAPTER 8 - POLITICAL CONTEXT OF JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

8.1 Overview

This chapter will summarise the political party context of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago from their independence in 1962 until their independence in 2016. It will describe the prominent Jamaican and Trinidadian political parties within these nations, covering their values, election results and political motives. The political parties that are covered were the largest parties in the 1976, 2011 and 2016 general elections. This chapter will help contextualise the analysis of the political party manifestos in the following chapter to help explore the attitudes surrounding the English language.

Below is a chart separating the parties that belong to each nation.

Jamaica	Trinidad and Tobago
Jamaica Labour Party (JLP)	People's National Movement (PNM)
People's National Party (PNP)	The People's Partnership Coalition (PPC)
	United National Congress (UNC)

Table 7. *Largest political parties in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.*

It is worth noting that the Trinidadian party *The People's Partnership Coalition* was a coalition of the United National Congress and other small parties. This coalition was brought together in the 2016 Trinidadian general election. Prior to this, the United National Congress was the only other party large enough to challenge the People's National Movement.

8.2 Jamaica

Jamaican politics since independence has witnessed a rivalry between the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP). Being the two main political parties in Jamaica, general election results have seen the power of the country change hands back and forth multiple times since 1962. Since elections began in 1944, the JLP have won 7 elections while the PNP have won 9 (Jamaica Observer, 2011). Additionally, the election of 1976 saw the PNP take control with 47 seats to 13. They remained in power in 2011 with 42-21 but the JLP took government in the 2016 election with a slight majority at 32-31. Furthermore, the 2016 results represented one of the biggest national divides that Jamaica has witnessed in politics.

8.2.1 Jamaica Labour Party (JLP)

The Jamaican Labour Party is one of the two main political parties in Jamaica. Although the name suggests that it is a social democratic party, the JLP is a conservative, centre-right party (JLP 1976, 2015). The JLP represent themselves as the 'champion of the poor' and as addressing all problems in poverty and unemployment through cooperation between labour and capital in an economic market (JLP, 2018). Furthermore, their support for Independent Statehood instead of a Federation saw the JLP win the first election of the independent Jamaica. They continued to show support for the education of children giving every child access to education by the 1970s. As part of their social legislation, the JLP introduced the Foreign Nationals and Commonwealth Citizens Employment Act to allow black Jamaicans the first right to the best jobs in the economy to eradicate the previous colonial practice of reserving the

best opportunities for the white colonials. This first act of liberation was continued by encouraging the cultural expression of people to develop a sense of national identity that was claimed to be lost during the colonial period. As a result, the Annual Jamaica Festival celebrated popular music, craft, arts, folk dance and other forms which gave Jamaica their unique identity (JLP, 2018).

8.2.2 People's National Party (PNP)

The PNP was founded in 1938 but later allied with the National Worker's Union who, as described by Collier (2005:125), 'became the darling of the Jamaican middle class' and the spokesmen for Jamaican nationalism and Jamaican independence.

The PNP are a democratic socialist party devoted to building a political movement that increases the weight of the subordinate classes in Jamaica (Stephens and Stephens, 1987). The party attempted to introduce democratic socialism in Jamaica in the 1970s and fought hard to maintain their democratic socialist policies when under pressure from various international financial institutions. Additionally, the PNP ignored the International Monetary Fund when they warned the PNP of the fluctuating economy – which was driven by tourism- and thus, a severe economic crisis began in Jamaica in the 1970s (Wilson, 1996). Furthermore, the missed targets by the PNP led to an early general election being called in 1980.

In 1976, the PNP Prime minister declared a constitutional-based state of emergency in response to the rise in gang-related violence in order to guarantee public safety. Along with this, the PNP imprisoned several JLP officials. Both parties confronted each other with their different

ideological positions and caused politically intensified violence. As a reaction, the PNP used the full power of the State of Emergency and paralysed all campaign efforts of the JLP (Collier, 2005). The PNP went on to win the 1976 general election.

The socialist programmes of the PNP took a leading role in economic planning in the late 1970s but when the JLP came into power in 1980 they reversed all economic planning and began privatising state economic holdings. In 1997, when the PNP won the third of their consecutive elections, political violence in Jamaica began to decline for the first time in 30 years.

8.3 Trinidad and Tobago

Under political circumstances similar to Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago have also seen their political platform governed by two parties: People's National Movement (PNM) and United National Congress (UNC). The 1976 general election saw the PNM take government with 24 seats out of 36. The People's Partnership, a coalition of the UNC, took office in 2010 with 29 out of the 41 seats while the 2015 election saw the PNM take control again with 23 out of 41 seats (Caribbean Elections, no date). Like Jamaica, the Trinidadian election results of 2015 represented an overwhelming political divide within the nation.

8.3.1 People's National Movement (PNM)

The People's National Movement (PNM) was founded by Dr Eric Williams in 1956 to revive the political scene in Trinidad and Tobago. Having been the first party with its own written constitution, the party set up party groups nationwide which all communicated to Constituency

Groups. The PNM was motivated by the bitter past under British rule and so put great emphasis on the promotion of independence (Williams, 1964:242). Williams himself was motivated by overcoming the imperialist footprint that was left by the British. He believed that the state needed to form its own identity without the history of the colonisation lingering over the nation. Thus, the native people of Trinidad and Tobago were encouraged to dismiss policies that had been introduced by Britain which represented British values. The PNM believed in demanding reforms while approving constitutional and peaceful means to achieve their aims (Brereton, 1981).

Since independence in 1962, the PNM have been in power multiple times with a stretch of 30 continuous years from 1956 to 1986. In the following years, the government of Trinidad and Tobago has switched multiple times from PNM to the United National Congress but currently the PNM are the governing body of Trinidad and Tobago winning the 2016 general election.

8.3.2 The People's Partnership (PP) and the United National Congress (UNC)

The PPC consider themselves to be a moderate left-wing coalition with values of fairness, equality, honesty and truth (PPC, 2016)

The United National Congress (UNC) was founded in 1989 because of the collapse of the National Alliance for Reconstruction. As the party split, 6 MPs who were originally part of the United Labour Front began the UNC. The party initially won 13 seats in its first election in the 1991 elections and again in 1995-2001. The party returned to government in 2010 in

partnership with the Congress of the People which meant the two parties governed under the 'People's Partnership Coalition' (PPC) but lost power in 2016 (Collier, 2005).

8.4 Chapter summary

The account of the Jamaican and Trinidadian political parties will contextualise the attitudes of the English language in the analysis. Opposing political ideologies have been described to understand how ideology affects language attitudes in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This will further explain the ideological positions that have been presented to the electorate regarding language policy which could provide evidence to identify if agency plays a role in language rise. Furthermore, these ideological positions, if discovered within the manifestos, may further indicate the structural positions that influence these nations.

CHAPTER 9 - POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTOS ANALYSIS

9.1 Overview

This chapter presents an analysis of the political manifestos of Jamaican and Trinidadian parties. These manifestos highlighted areas of social planning and the direction the political parties wish to have taken their nations. The manifestos specifically represented views on education and foreign policy within these countries which they would have pursued if elected. Furthermore, I have chosen to analyse these topics as these were both salient topics in all manifestos and these themes represent a relationship in which the actions of a nation's foreign policy may impact the actions of an education policy and, thus, language policy.

I will be specifically analysing the inclusion of key words to identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. Additionally, references made to colonialism and globalisation will be identified and analysed. The conclusions that can be drawn from this data can better inform my aim of discovering whether agency can be identified as a variable in language rise. Later in this thesis, I will link my results back to the arguments that have been put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook to assess the suitability of their model in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and, to conclude, whether agency plays a role in English language rise.

This chapter will begin with the discussion of specific terms that have been gathered from the manifestos. This will be followed by a qualitative analysis of the education and foreign policy within party manifestos from 1976, 2011 and 2015. The year of 1976 was 17 years after independence and Jamaican and Trinidadian politics during their independence would have

been well established in the mid 1970s. Additionally, 2011 and 2015 provide the most recent party election manifestos. These will identify current and relevant attitudes towards the English language to indicate whether attitudes have changed from the early independence until now. I will be analysing the two most popular parties within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, as informed by the election results, and studying references to the English language in the manifestos as a whole and then specifically within education and foreign policies.

The party manifestos will be referred to using the following key unless otherwise stated.

Key:

JLP – Jamaica Labour Party

PNP – People’s National Party

PNM – People’s National Movement

PPC – People’s Party Coalition

UNC – United National Congress

9.2 Results and findings

The manifestos were analysed using a focussed analysis on select key words to identify how often they were used, as explained in section 6.6 in chapter 6. The word ‘English’ explicitly identifies the language and provides this analysis with the necessary base to build the analysis on. The processes of ‘colonisation’ and ‘globalisation’ have been included in this search because Phillipson and Pennycook claim colonialism is the reason for language rise; as such, these terms point towards general political concerns in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Likewise, Phillipson also specifically claims that indigenous and minor languages must be promoted in nations to discourage the further rise of the English language. Based on this, the manifestos were searched for the words ‘Patwa’ and ‘Creole’ to identify if these languages are encouraged within Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Overall, these terms represent literal reference to the English language, education, colonialism, globalisation and indigenous languages.

The search retrieved the following results. A specific breakdown of the frequency of words in each individual manifesto will be stated at the start of each analysis. The abundance of words is generally low but, still, the conclusions may still provide an indication of whether agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. These results will direct my analysis in determining the implied attitudes surrounding the English language and whether agency can be considered a factor in the English language rise.

Words	Frequency of words in 1976 manifestos		Frequency of words in 2010/2011		Frequency of word in 2015/2016	
	Jamaica	Trinidad & Tobago	Jamaica	Trinidad & Tobago	Jamaica	Trinidad and Tobago
Literacy	JLP - 1 PNP - 3	PNM - 0	JLP – 26 PNP - 3	PPC - 4	JLP-4 PNP- 1	PNM-0 PPC – 2
English	JLP - 0 PNP - 1	PNM –0	JLP – 2 PNP - 0	PPC - 2	JLP- 1 PNP- 3	PNM-1 PPC – 2
Colonisation (colonial/to colonise)	JLP - 1 PNP - 1	PNM- 2	JLP – 0 PNP - 1	PPC - 1	JLP -0 PNP- 0	PNM-1 PPC – 1
Globalis(z)ation (globalise)	JLP - 0 PNP - 0	PNM - 0	JLP – 1 PNP - 1	PPC – 0	JLP- 0 PNP- 1	PNM-0 PPC - 1
Language	JLP - 0 PNP - 0	PNM - 1	JLP – 1 PNP - 1	PPC - 3	JLP - 0 PNP- 2	PNM-1 PPC – 1
Trinidadian Creole		PNM - 0		PPC - 0		PNM-0 PPC - 0
Jamaican Patwa/ Patois	JLP – PNP – 0		JLP - 0 PNP - 0		JLP- 0 PNP- 0	

Table 8. *Frequency of selected terms in the Jamaican and Trinidadian manifestos.*

The quantitative results from the search showed there was an increase in use of the terms since 2011 compared to 1976. The JLP had a significant increase in ‘literacy’ and ‘English’ terms while reference to colonisation had been removed. The PNP also followed this pattern. Although the Trinidadian parties had an increase in language terms, these did not occur as frequently as in the Jamaican manifestos. Additionally, the Trinidadian parties still referred to colonisation in their 2011 and 2016 party manifestos. It can also be identified that there is an absence of the indigenous languages both in 1976 and since 2011. Although the frequency of the terms is small, the inclusion of these terms, compared with the absence in 1976, and the context in which they have been used can reveal Jamaican and Trinidadian attitudes towards the English language. The conclusions that have been drawn from these results, using qualitative analysis, are discussed in my findings below.

I will begin the case study analysis with Jamaica and then move on to Trinidad and Tobago. The findings will be related back to the findings of the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, where relevant, to further identify if agency plays a role in language rise.

9.3 Case-study analysis

The next part of this analysis will discuss the manifestos, as determined by the results of the search criteria, firstly beginning with Jamaica and then Trinidad and Tobago. The rationale for a case-study method is given in chapter 6.

9.4 Structure of the manifestos

The Jamaican and Trinidadian manifestos of 1976 were represented as tabloid newspapers with half a page dedicated to each discussion of education and foreign policies. Typically, the 21st century manifestos dedicated more pages to their policies but this may have been due to the online platform in which they were created. To make the texts searchable, they were photographed, processed using text recognition software and then manually checked. The texts from 1976 are situated in the appendices which I will refer to throughout this chapter.

9.5 Jamaica

In this section, each manifesto will be examined in relation to literacy and education, and foreign policy. The manifestos can be found within Appendices 1 and 2.

9.5.1 People's National Party Manifesto 1976

The PNP included 'literacy' three times in their manifesto. Specifically, these were included in the education policy. 'English' was included once and this also appeared within the manifesto's education policy. In regards to 'literacy' and 'English', the manifesto stressed the importance of literacy skills to combat the high rates of illiterate individuals in Jamaica as shown in 'Launched a massive attack on the condition of widespread illiteracy which we inherited from the J.L.P'. On the other hand, these literacy skills were not attached to either Standard Jamaican English or Jamaican Patwa. Although Standard Jamaican English was considered the only official language of Jamaica in 1976, there was no reference to building

the status of the indigenous language, Jamaican Patwa, in the manifesto. Instead, neither language is mentioned in the document.

‘Colonialism’ is referred to in the manifesto when the PNP referred to the previous government in power in 1972, the JLP. It states, ‘When the P.N.P administration took office in 1972, we inherited: A Jamaica that was Independent only in name with no concept of a foreign policy and still bound with the mental shackles of the Colonial era’. According to Harmel (2016), the use of rhetoric to describe past behaviours of their opposition is typical of political party manifestos. The use of ‘colonialism’ could be an attack on the JLP. An interpretation of this is that the PNP may have been eager to remove the colonial cloud over Jamaica to provide the nation with a fresh identity, and that the PNP may have reflected on the colonial era as a period that restricted and bound the Jamaican nation and were aware that the independence in 1962 was an opportunity to quash colonial ideologies.

The 1976 manifesto also referred to the relationships that Jamaica hoped to build as part of their foreign policy. It states, ‘we have established friendly and constructive relations with our neighbours in Latin America...at the same time we have maintained our friendly relations with the United Kingdom’. The manifesto also states that there was ‘a willingness to maintain friendly and mutually beneficial relations with all countries who wish to have friendly relations with us’. It could be suggested that this willingness to negotiate between nations, and recognise an idea that nations can serve each other, is a feature of globalisation (Eriksen, 2007) signifying that Jamaica may be moving away from the colonial model that Phillipson and Pennycook have put forward. However, ‘willingness’ may not explicitly identify the choice to engage in globalisation but just that Jamaica may be prepared for it if needed.

9.5.2 People's National Party Manifesto 2011

Since 1976, the mention of 'literacy' has increased by three in the 2011 manifesto while 'English' has remained absent. Additionally, reference to Jamaican Patwa was also absent. Despite stating the importance of literacy skills, 'ensuring continued priority to literacy and numeracy', the manifesto did not specify which language these literacy skills applied to (PNP, 2011). The continued lack of distinction could support an idea that the two languages in Jamaica, Standard Jamaican English and Jamaica Patwa, may exist in a close relationship where skills cannot be applied to one without affecting the other. For example, as discussed in the analysis of the Language Attitude Survey in Jamaica, it was interpreted that a teacher within a classroom may switch between English and Patwa to ensure effective learning of the curriculum (Deuber, 2009). In this case, it could suggest that literacy skills may not be assigned to a specific language due to the use of multiple languages within education implying Patwa and English may facilitate each other in classroom contexts. However, the PNP's reluctance in explicitly identifying a language in Jamaica in relation to education may show a superficial attitude towards language policy in Jamaica, an inference that can also be drawn from the 1976 manifesto.

In relation to the dimensions of political manifestos, as described in chapter 6, the PNP's commitment to 'literacy' could be categorised as a *general* pledge as the party are committed to increase the proficiency in literacy but there is a lack of precise detail to support this pledge (Bara, 2005).

Although there was an increase in terms referencing ‘globalisation’, reference to colonisation is still evident in the manifesto. The manifesto’s foreign policy presented a theme of constructing alliances. It states ‘the PNP is aware that any programme of recovery must be based on building coalitions with other developing countries’ (2011:28), a notion that the manifesto of 1976 also supported. The manifesto went on to state, ‘nurturing our traditional relationships with countries such as the UK and USA, having a distinctive voice in multicultural institutions such as the United Nations’. The reference to ‘traditional’ could imply that relationships between Jamaica and the rest of the world have consistently remained positive. This alacrity towards international relations can also be inferred from the manifesto of 1976 despite the manifesto being written during the infancy of Jamaican independence. The historical narratives that have been supplied by Higman (1981) and Parry et al (1987) have reported that Jamaicans were desperate to be released from colonial rule, stating economic and financial prosperity was burdened by the British colony. The findings from this manifesto do not appear to fully support the anger narrative that scholars have previously highlighted. This is significant because despite the apparent bitter colonial past which may have influenced Jamaica, as argued by Phillipson and Pennycook, it may be implied that there was a choice among the Jamaicans to build relationships with international superpowers that once ruled much of the Caribbean. This may indicate the agency of the PNP to negotiate with other countries which may, in turn, have encouraged multi-culturalism and language use (Eriksen, 2007). Interconnecting nations for trade and international policy may have stimulated the mix of cultures physically (migration of people) and virtually (online communication). Furthermore, the inclination to continue with international relations may have demonstrated Jamaica’s acceptance of foreign cultures that may have migrated consequently. Ahearn (2001) would argue, however, that accepting foreign cultures to maintain local economic status is

considered as an act of a structural position in the sense that Jamaica's prosperity relies on the relationship with other global nations. This could then suggest that without these relationships, prosperity in Jamaica hinders. This might, possibly, make Jamaica feel obliged, on behalf of the nation's welfare, to 'nurture traditional relationships' and accept the terms other nations are offering. The options provided for Jamaica, then, are either take part in foreign relations for the benefit of the country, or decline these at the possible expense of the economy. Naturally, a nation would choose an option to better themselves. Bourdieu (1977, 1991) argues, however, that although a structure may limit the options available for an agent, in this case Jamaica, the structure still relies on the agent to choose. As such, an agent's actions may reinforce an existing structure, such as globalisation, but could even lead to changes in the structure. So, although structure supplies and may determine the options available, it could be argued that agency determines which options are selected. The longevity of these structures, such as colonialism and globalisation, may then rely on agency.

Although no reference has been made to explicitly maintain the English language or to discourage the use of it, it can be implied that some maintenance of the English language - as the first language of the UK, USA and the UN- must be present within Jamaica's language policy to safeguard communication with international nations. As discussed above, the choice to go ahead with foreign nations, in which English may facilitate, could show that agency does play a role in language rise. It might be, however, the agency to be involved with foreign nations, as a primary action, and then a secondary effect of this could be the rise of the English language. There may not have been intention to rise the number of English speakers but there may have been intention to build foreign coalitions.

9.5.3 People's National Party 2016

Reference to the English language was shown in the following statement: 'give priority to oral and written standard English in our schools to improve examination results and fully prepare our students for its use as the international language of communication' (2016:38-39). An interesting observation here is that the PNP distinguished English by its standard form and recognised it as the international language of communication. Referring to the work conducted by Deuber (2014) and Beckford Wassink (1999), and the findings from the Language Attitude Survey in Jamaica, the categorisation of English as 'standard' may be required to identify the language the manifesto is responding to, supporting an idea that English and Patwa maintain a close relationship.

The acknowledgement of the 'international language of communication' may suggest that the PNP and, subsequently, the people of Jamaica were aware of the role of the English language and the global context in which it was used. This is significant because identifying the context in which the use of the English language benefits the nation could imply that a Jamaican can maintain their indigenous culture and language on a local level without the possible imposition of the 'international' English language. As well as this, it could indicate that the English language may only be encouraged in the context of international communication – an inference discovered in the 2011 manifesto - implying that for specific purposes, such as foreign policy, there is a requirement for English. This further supports the idea that English language rise might be a secondary effect of the agency that is applied to foreign policy.

When comparing the inclusion of English in 2016 to the absence of reference to English in the PNP manifesto of 1976, it can be implied in the 30 years between the production of these documents there has been an adjustment in attitude towards English in Jamaica and that these parties may now consider English to be politically important. The PNP's receptiveness towards the English language, and their choice to engage in activities that require English, in 2016 could suggest that agency plays a role in developing the English language status, if not to maintain it, on behalf of allowing communication across nations.

The 2016 manifesto included one reference to 'globalisation' and no reference to 'colonisation' despite this appearing in their previous manifestos. The manifesto states, 'we commit to achieving this within the context of the challenges of globalization, and in keeping with ILO's Decent Work Agenda and our aspirations for Vision 2030'. This inclusion of 'globalisation' appeared in the PNP's economic policy where they pledged to maintain consistent labour growth in Jamaica. The PNP, however, acknowledge the difficulties of globalisation suggesting since the initial inclusion of 'globalisation' in their 1976 manifesto, attitudes towards globalisation may have changed. Instead, globalisation no-longer appears in the context of building coalitions with nations but is apprehended by the PNP as a potential barrier. What can be inferred here is Bourdieu's (1977) argument that structure may rely on agency to continue to be influential. As previously analysed in the 2011 manifesto, Jamaica may have been restricted and influenced by the need to take part in foreign relations. Here, however, Jamaica could be seen to be going against the favoured structure (globalisation) to an extent. This, furthermore, supports the idea that even though a structure may influence a nation, as supported by the arguments put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook and the 2011 manifesto, it is the choice of an individual (agency) that determines whether the structure is reinforced or needs

adapting. As such, the structure may become less influential if it is not supported by the Jamaican natives.

So, although the PNP referred to English as the international language to facilitate international communication, a feature which Eriksen (2007) argues is an aspect of globalisation, Jamaica appears to face challenges with this process. This puts forward an idea that globalisation may not equally serve or benefit each nation involved while also implying that not all features of globalisation must be fulfilled by the nation for them to agree with it or receive benefits from it. This supports the arguments put forward by Archer (1995), Bourdieu (1977, 1991), Dowding (2008), Giddens (1984) and Hurrelman (1988) in chapter 4, that, at times, structure and agency work together but not as equals.

On the other hand, the lack of reference to colonisation in 2016 compared to the previous manifestos, which included the term, may also represent a change in attitudes among Jamaicans. The absence of 'colonisation' as a structure may suggest that the PNP no longer need to refer to the process within their policies, implying reference to their past may not be necessary for their pledge for the future. Due to this, Jamaicans may feel they do not need to exaggerate the colonial period in order to move forward in their independence, suggesting it is not a political concern. This could suggest that the attitudes that were once held towards colonialism may no-longer influence Jamaica as much as Phillipson and Pennycook have argued. On the other hand, although that have not spoken about it does not mean it is not important or does not influence language rise. Colonialism is a fundamental part of Jamaica's history which by no means has been forgotten, but it may no-longer politically limit Jamaica. Instead, what could be argued as driving Jamaica and language rise forward is globalisation.

As a structure, colonialism has been narrated to be more destructive than globalisation suggesting that not all structures are equal in their influence and, possibly, power. As such, weaker structures may provide opportunity for agency to emerge. Globalisation, however, is still in its infancy; a reflection on its impact in years to come may present new insights that are too soon to judge presently.

9.5.4 Jamaica Labour Party 1976

The JLP manifesto provided one reference to ‘literacy’ while no reference to ‘English’ and ‘Patwa’ was evident. The reference to literacy, ‘the 100 village Community Centres offered young people skills, literacy classes etc.’, was embedded within a pledge to increase the number of youth programmes to raise human development which may suggest literacy skills were vital in a Jamaican’s development. Like the observation of ‘literacy’ in the previous manifestos, this was not specified as being in English or Patwa. However, what can be assumed is that the promotion of literacy skills and the capacity to do so, whether in English or Patwa, still presents the choice of an agent to acquire language. Looking back at the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, an individual may consider the values and attitudes afforded to each language to influence their language choice. As such, an individual may choose to exploit the value and opportunity of the language.

The education policy in the 1976 manifesto referred to a need for skilled labour to enhance employment opportunities but no reference to literacy competence to secure these prospects was evident (1976:11). The lack of explicit reference to language and literacy may suggest that opportunity for young people in Jamaica, in the eyes of the JLP, may have not been bound by

the language in which a person spoke. However, the recognition of literacy in ‘human development’ may suggest that the ability to read, write and speak is essential to a Jamaican’s life.

This inference also matches that in the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica where language stereotypes, including wealth and opportunity, were not seen to be attached to either English or Patwa. On the other hand, it could be argued that if the manifesto was to select a specific language in which its education policies would be focussed on, it may present an impression that speakers of alternative languages (minor languages) are disadvantaged, a value the JLP are against. Here, then, the political party manifesto may also be influenced by its populace suggesting the political parties who have created these manifestos are also agents. As such, their chosen policies have been influenced by the people of Jamaica suggesting that if the populace can be influential as a structure on political parties, the populace may perform both structure and agency positions.

A trend in this analysis of manifestos is that ‘sensitivity’ can be inferred regarding language policy and planning in Jamaica. This is supported by the ambiguous use of ‘literacy’ and the absence of specific languages. An aim of the independence of Jamaica, and the JLP party in 1962, was to ensure a Jamaican identity developed including the language that best represented their culture, values and history. The fact that both the JLP and the PNP appear to have an absence of indigenous language reference could suggest that attitudes towards language in Jamaica is a complex issue. It appears that finding the balance between promoting Jamaican Patwa and making use of the English language as a resource for economic and financial prosperity is near impossible, especially when considering the ambiguous results of the

Language Attitude Survey. On the other hand, to promote Jamaican Patwa alongside the English language as an access resource, does imply there is some control over their language policy. In the perspective of colonialism, promoting an indigenous language was unheard of. This small, but significant, observation from the Jamaican manifestos, does question whether colonialism can still be considered the primary driver behind language rise.

The 1976 manifesto included one reference to 'colonisation' but no reference to 'globalisation'. The foreign policy of the 1976 manifesto states, 'our Foreign Policy will be geared to a balance of interests within our Geographical neighbours in Latin America, our brothers in Africa and elsewhere, our financial friends in the western world, our trading ties wherever established and our cultural community in the Caribbean'. This acknowledges the benefits that may be gained when trading with other countries despite the nations of the 'western world' being previous colonial powers. What was significant within this manifesto was a reference that was made to the pressure that Jamaica had previously experienced under colonial rule: 'we do not propose to develop fanatic friendships with any country that locks us into organising our country along their alien political lines'. As the independence of Jamaica occurred 14 years prior to this manifesto, the attitude towards liberation could be considered fresh in Jamaican politics suggesting it is still important. Instead, Jamaica appeared to have more control over their foreign policy as threats from powers who once showed behaviours of imposition (colonisation) would have had their relationships cut. This imposition has not been tied to certain nations further suggesting that Britain were not the only powers who were seen to deny Jamaica during the period of colonisation. On the other hand, this may have been left implicit as Jamaican nationals were aware of their colonial history. It appears Jamaica recognised their past but encouraged relationships with international nations which may show that the barriers

which were once up in the infancy of their independence were beginning to be let down. As a result, this allowed foreign nations and their cultures to migrate into Jamaica. The term ‘imposition’ that Phillipson and Pennycook use in their model seems less appropriate in explaining language rise when Jamaica are now exposing themselves to foreign nations, a characteristic that could be argued as a feature of globalisation. So, although agency may not be explicitly identified here, a change in the structure that influences language rise has become noticeable. The analysis of the manifestos, then, indicates that colonialism may not be a political concern. What can be seen, though, is globalisation is increasingly influencing Jamaican politics.

9.5.5 Jamaica Labour Party 2011

The manifesto stressed the importance of literacy skills in the curriculum, of examinations and the benefit these skills would have had on the Jamaican infrastructure: ‘We remained committed to empowering young people with literacy, numeracy and employable skills’ (2011:6). However, like the PNP, they do not specify which language these literacy skills are related to. The presence of English appeared in the education policy when referring to the qualifications adult-learners are encouraged to achieve including, ‘Grade 11 in CSEC English’ (2011:62). According to the Caribbean Examinations Council (2018), the CSEC in English is an examination which studies drama, poetry and prose fiction to show an awareness of the functions and purpose of language. It can be implied that if the CSEC in English is mandatory for all students in Jamaica, the reference to literacy skills may centre around the English language in preparation for the CSEC English examinations.

The JLP also referenced the English language in the subject of culture. Under the section of Arts, Culture and Heritage, the JLP encouraged museums and national heritages to teach skills that are in line with the national curriculum, 'In addition, the collections of Jamaica's museums, galleries and heritage sites are closely tied to the national curricula at multiple levels in various subjects such as Art, Civics, English, Maths, Social Studies, Geography and History' (JLP, 2011:85). The inclusion of English under 'Arts, Culture and Heritage' is significant as it could suggest that English may be considered part of Jamaican culture. An alternative view, however, could also suggest that a Western culture is being elevated above their local culture, possibly due to the appeal and success of 'Western' society, as helped along by globalisation. This could be inferred that globalisation, as a structure, is influencing Jamaica and their choice to include English in the national curriculum, as supported by Phillipson and Pennycook.

On the other hand, the JLP have also identified language as a means of achieving a national identity (2011:85). With reference made to music, dance, art and religion, a single reference to 'language' is made in relation to 'Brand Jamaica' which assumes it is recognisable around the globe. However, Standard English or Jamaican Patwa are not specified. According to the manifesto, there is an assumption that the global audience who experience Jamaican culture will be able to identify the features of the language that best represent the culture and identity of Jamaica. This could also be said for the Jamaican populace who read the party manifestos so identifying the language may not be necessary for this manifesto's audience. On the other hand, the lack of language distinction may also support the idea that the distinction between SJE and JP is complex, not phonologically but socially and further suggest that this is not significant in Jamaican politics. This is an observation that has also been identified in the previous manifestos and by scholars such as Craig (1999) and Deuber (2013).

A trend that can be identified in the 21st century manifestos of the JLP and PNP is the absence of any identification of key languages. The use of ‘literacy’ is attached to generic reading and writing skills within education but it does not specify which language these literacy skills are to be developed in. This prompts two questions: is the lack of distinction due to the close relationship between SJE and JP that has been put forward by Deuber (2013, 2014), or is it because attitudes towards language policy in Jamaica is a complex debate with English being seen to advance economic prosperity? I will further consider these interpretations within the discussion, with reference to the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (JLU, 2005), to further identify if agency plays a role in language rise and to assess the suitability of Phillipson’s and Pennycook’s research in modern-day postcolonial nations.

The JLP’s foreign policy referred to globalisation as a way to fulfil the requirements of exports and imports that are needed to improve the Jamaican economy. The manifesto states, ‘In the context of globalization, the priorities in our foreign policy approach must therefore be to secure export markets and attract investors into our economy’ (2011:28). The JLP have recognised the importance of globalisation to improve their economy and have recognised the value of globalisation in the global market. Relating back to the inclusion of literacy and English within the manifesto, it could be suggested that gaining access to the global economy may require access to the global language implying English may facilitate this. Furthermore, as Crystal (2003) found that 85% of international organisations used English as an official language, it emerges that the JLP may have been aware of the role of English in the global community and may be responding to the need of ‘English’ within globalisation. Some scholars would argue the need to learn English as a point of access to globalisation could be an example of structure (an arrangement which limits and influences choices). To this degree, structure

could be argued as the cause of the English language rise; however, Bourdieu's argument is that the choice of an agent, when presented with variables, decides whether the structure is successful, further supporting the idea that these positions are complementary. As such, the decision of the agent, may mean that the structure is not successful. An example of where a structure may have been considered unsuccessful was in the European Union referendum in 2016. The referendum offered the populace of Britain to either remain or leave the EU. The structure, being the government and additional parties, ideally, wanted Britain to remain in the EU. To their surprise, the vote did not go in favour of the structure but because the structure believed in democracy, the result was upheld. The structure, then, is now having to change to accommodate the choice that was made. So, although structure does play a role in offering choices and possibly influencing decisions, it may come to a point where agency plays a role too and becomes influential as witnessed in the EU referendum. Structure, here, relied on agency. In relation, then, to the Jamaican manifesto, Jamaica considers globalisation to be politically important but how far globalisation is fulfilled and adhered to relies on agency.

Here, structure and agency may be considered as working together in language rise linking back to the idea that they may be classed as complementary forces (Archer, 1995; Bourdieu 1977, 1991; Dowding, 2008). Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* (1977) argues that individuals act through their habitus (cultural knowledge) in relation to their given fields (agency) but keeping in mind that their cultural knowledge has been conditioned by prior experiences (structure). In Jamaica, it can be implied that Jamaicans are choosing English, possibly aware of the global opportunities it provides, to facilitate globalisation. However, the worry of economic deprivation (that was once left behind by the British in Jamaica at the beginning of the 20th century according to Higman 2011)) may further encourage Jamaica to acquire English. What

can be seen then is that while Jamaica chooses to facilitate globalisation through acquiring English, the fear of a ‘colonial cloud’ may still intimidate Jamaica and, thus, influence their choices.

9.5.6 Jamaica Labour Party 2016

Compared to 1976, the frequency of ‘literacy’ in the period 2011-2016 has increased by 30. Additionally, three references have been made to ‘English’ in the 2016 manifesto. Like the PNP, the JLP refer to the acquisition of literacy skills in their education policy but these skills are not specialised in Standard Jamaican English or Jamaican Patwa (JLP, 2016). Literacy is mentioned in the context of a skill that must be achieved fully by the end of Primary education by all students. Additionally, there is also a responsibility on the part of teachers to deliver literacy securely in order to facilitate the students’ acquisition, ‘strengthen the teaching of literacy and numeracy at the early childhood level to ensure readiness for Primary schools’ (2016:22). Like the manifesto of 2011, literacy has not been associated with any distinct language. The absence of ‘English’ and ‘Patwa’ within the manifesto could further show the close relationship of the two languages (Craig 2006, Deuber 2009). On the other hand, the lack of detail within this pledge could be identified as a ‘general’ pledge which may represent the JLP’s low priority of language policy.

The word ‘English’ was included in the foreign policy. This states, ‘we should not under value certain circumstances which in fact have high business value to the American market; our population are native English speakers’ (2016: 45). This manifesto is the first in this analysis of the JLP to explicitly recognise the official language of the population and the economic

value that the language brings to Jamaican foreign policy. This could suggest that while Jamaica has not promoted the teaching of English, as shown in the explicit absence of ELT and curriculum based English, they may be aware of the benefits an English-speaking population could serve them in business and economics and do not need to include this, explicitly, in their manifesto.

This lack of distinction, as traced in the other manifestos analysed, further supports the claim that has been put forward by Deuber (2009) that Standard Jamaican English and Jamaican Patwa can coexist in the same contexts, such as in education. If these two languages can exist alongside each other, then it could be argued that neither language can provide better opportunities, promoting a life of bilingualism. Phillipson's and Pennycook's model does not consider bilingualism although my readings of the Jamaican manifestos and the analysis of Language Attitude Survey suggests that neither language is favoured over the other. In fact, the findings have shown an absence of negativity towards the English language and an absence of the indigenous language Patwa. Therefore, the approach that Phillipson takes in his study claiming that all nations should promote the use of minor languages and discourage the use of English, is not fully supported by this manifesto. On the other hand, the absence of reference could further show that Jamaica may not consider their language policy, in 2016, to be a political priority, further indicating that their policy may not need adapting.

9.5.7 Summary of Jamaican manifestos

The reading of these manifestos shows there was more hostility towards language policy in the 1970s but less hostility is shown in the more recent manifestos. This could suggest that the

Jamaican parties are beginning to acknowledge the English language including its accessibility, its role as the international language of communication and its international employment opportunities. The manifestos of the 1970s suggests colonialism was referred to negatively and that there was some hostility when negotiating with foreign nations indictating it was still a political concern. However, the manifestos of the 21st century are beginning to signify solidarity between international nations in order to become economically successful. It appears that colonialism is less of a concern in the 21st century and that globalisation is increasingly being considered in politics. The English language, then, may help contribute to the building of coalitions with foreign nations as part of globalisation.

9.6 Trinidad and Tobago

In this section, each manifesto will be examined in relation to literacy and education, and foreign policy. The manifesto can be found in Appendix 3.

9.6.1 People's National Movement 1976

The PNM did not refer to 'literacy' or 'English' within their manifesto. Like the education policy put forward by the Jamaica Labour Party in 1976, the People's National Movement also stressed the importance of skilled labour to equalise opportunity in Trinidad and Tobago but literacy skills were not seen to aid this. Alongside this was an absence of mention of teaching English, but, when reflecting on the PNM's values of anti-colonialism, which the English language was a target of, this absence does not appear significant in the 1970s. If we were to look at how this may represent Phillipson's and Pennycook's model at this stage of analysis,

then it could be argued that Trinidad and Tobago were showing features of a nationalistic linguistic process where the former colonial language was not being encouraged. However, the minor, indigenous language of Trinidadian Creole was also not being encouraged either. The Trinidadian Ministry of Education recognised Creole as a language in its own right in 1975 (Youssef and Deuber, 2007) but an absence of reference may suggest that existing stereotypes surrounding Creole may have hampered the PNM's reference to the indigenous language despite its accepted use. Even though it is too soon to identify if Phillipson's and Pennycook's model mirrors the debates in Trinidad and Tobago, it can be suggested that their model does not fit entirely with the attitudes expressed in the manifesto due to the lack of support from the PNM when promoting the use of Trinidadian Creole. Additionally, this manifesto neither supports nor discourages the use of the English language; but although it is not expressed in the manifesto, does not mean attitudes towards the English language or Trinidadian Creole do not exist.

Similar to the Jamaican manifestos of 1976, the PNM's manifesto referred to 'colonialism' once and reference to 'globalisation' was also not evident. Reference to colonisation was made within the PNM's foreign policy in the phrase 'active opposition to colonialism in all its shapes and forms, particularly in the Caribbean, and especially in the United Nation's Decolonisation Committee'. Although no reference has been made to Britain specifically, this statement does show that Trinidad and Tobago were less supportive of colonialism and were aware of the cultural sanctions that may have come with this, including language. It could be suggested that if the PNM was seen to promote the use of a specific language, such as English, it may have compromised their political position and values that the PNM stood for. Although there was no mention of the English language within the manifesto, it does not suggest that the nation

was against the language despite it being a result of the colonisation. On the other hand, the absence could suggest that ELT was not a political concern in Trinidad and Tobago in 1976. Likewise, the manifesto was written entirely in Standard English suggesting the language of the masses, at the point of manifesto publication, was Trinidadian English. Therefore, announcing changes within the language policy in regards to English may have been seen to be problematic rather than beneficial as changing the language of the masses could have been costly and inefficient. So, although there was an absence of 'English' with this manifesto, it could be suggested that the PNM did not discourage the use of the English language but it may not have been a primary concern of the PNM. Phillipson's and Pennycook's stress on ELT as part of their language model does not fit here. ELT is based around the teaching of English to speakers of other languages or to speakers who live in an English-speaking country. As many Trinidadians speak English, ELT as a private institution is not an appropriate model to analyse the rise of the English language in this nation.

Both Phillipson and Pennycook argue that colonial British ideologies, as an example of structure with patterned arrangements, are to blame for the rise of the English language but no reference has been made to the British in this manifesto. Instead, it appears Trinidad and Tobago have gathered former colonial powers under the 'United Nation's Decolonisation Committee'. Phillipson's and Pennycook's models could be considered unsuitable because of the role they attach to colonialism is solely that of the British. Even though the final colonial years of Trinidad and Tobago were under British control, other territories including France and Spain also influenced Trinidad. Traces of these nations are evident in Trinidad and Tobago, including French in Trinidadian Creole (Aceto, 2003) and Spanish Catholicism in localised religions (Higman, 2011). Phillipson and Pennycook do not appear to be receptive to the idea

that colonialism was constructed of multiple imposing nations and it appears imbalanced that Britain is tainted for the entirety of colonialism when other colonial nations were present too. Despite this, although the manifesto has not mentioned the British does not mean that their heavy colonial past has been ignored; a political party manifesto may not be the appropriate platform to discuss and reflect on past events when its focus is on the future. Phillipson's and Pennycook's model appears appropriate for explaining language rise in nations under British colonial rule but it does not seem suitable to assess language rise in nations where British colonial presence is no longer important and where other colonial powers have also been present.

9.6.2 People's National Movement 2015

The PNM manifesto of 39 years later (PNM, 2015:41) dedicated one page to discuss the education policy. In this section of the manifesto, reference to 'English' was absent; an observation that was present in the 1976 manifesto. On the other hand, no other languages were mentioned and this included the indigenous language of Trinidadian Creole. Reference, however, was given to 'language arts' in which the PNM had aimed to fully integrate within the school system. This appears vague as no individual language is emphasised nor encouraged. This may represent an idea that language teaching policy in Trinidad and Tobago did not need to be adapted for this election and the absent reference of alternative languages may suggest that English could be maintained in its current state, while also implying that alternative languages other than English and Creole could be used in Trinidad and Tobago.

The 2015 manifesto evidences a decrease in ‘colonialism’ references but an increase in ‘globalisation’ references. The manifesto also referenced a notion of being ‘culturally diverse’ but did not include any position on trade benefits and enhancements that would happen as a result of encouraging multi-culturalism (PNM, 2015). ‘Culturally diverse’ appears ambiguous as no information is given to say which cultures were present in Trinidad and Tobago or which cultures allowed diversity. Although the manifesto did not explicitly challenge the culture that may be attached to the English language, the manifesto did not encourage the use of it. This links back to the idea that existing language models appear to be inclined to represent the British as responsible for the rise of English although the manifesto does not solely attach a British identity to the English language. Canagarajah’s (1999) critique of Phillipson’s model also argued that the British cannot be solely to blame for English rise when the activities in America must be considered too. It may be implied, then, that Trinidad and Tobago may not isolate Britain as responsible for the rise of English but may accept that multiple nations, whose first language is English, could be accountable. Likewise, Mufwene (2010) further argues that although many nations speak English, their cultures cannot be unified or explicitly characterised. Therefore, learning the English language may not result in learning the British culture which further questions if the ‘cultural baggage’ of English, as put forward by Saraceni (2015) and Wierzbicka (2006), can too be identified.

A large subject of discussion within the manifesto was the idea of increasing the use of science and technology (PNM, 2015:41). An interesting point was made including, ‘challenges that face our young people including penetration of foreign cultures, technological devices and social media.’ The use of ‘penetration’ suggests that foreign cultures forced themselves into the culture of Trinidad and Tobago. Like the notion of ‘cultural diversity’ above, details of

cultures that could have imposed were not identified. The connotations of ‘penetration’ represent battle, foreign force and the depth in which something has entered. The fact that the PNM have reflected on foreign culture using negative associations of colonialism could suggest that they have not forgotten about the colonial era. It is not uncontroversial to suggest that being ‘culturally diverse’ but challenging the ‘penetration of foreign cultures’ may seem provocative. Furthermore, with little evidence to whom these cultures belonged, implies attitudes of the English language from the people of Trinidad and Tobago is limited. On the other hand, an absence of the English language within the manifesto may be an indication that language policy is considered trivial in Trinidad and Tobago, especially after the continued years (colonialism until 2015) of facilitating English in the curriculum. Language policy may not have been of importance in the 2015 election.

9.6.3 The People’s Partnership Coalition 2010

The manifesto included the words ‘literacy’ 6 times and ‘English’ 4 times. Among these, a reference to literacy was embedded in an idea of encouraging bilingualism. The PPC’s manifesto of 2010 promoted an idea that Trinidadians should be bilingual and literate. This is shown in the statement, ‘we will expand the meaning of literacy to include a second language in the curriculum at primary, secondary and tertiary level drawing on local linguists in the system’ (PPC, 2010) Furthermore, the manifesto goes on, ‘mathematics, language skills and competence in English, as well science and technology, will receive special attention.’ This promotes an idea that English benefits the nation but not necessarily supplying a positive view of it. Additionally, the manifesto shows there is a preference among Trinidadians to incorporate additional languages into the curriculum. Similarly, as identified in the Jamaican manifestos,

the acquisition of English may be influenced and motivated by globalisation. This, in isolation, does support Phillipson's and Pennycook's argument that structural arrangements determine language rise but as discovered in Bourdieu's argument, the choice to go ahead with globalisation requires agency. Here Trinidadians are not only supporting English, but are actively encouraging another language; because of this, not only can English develop but Spanish too. Encouraging bilingualism suggests that a Trinidadian child who had a working-proficiency in an additional language would have been provided with enhanced opportunities in the future. Similarly, like Jamaica, encouraging a nation to become bilingual supports the idea that multiple languages can coexist in Trinidad and Tobago. Additionally, reference to a well-educated nation was also shown in the promise of, 'Development of an appropriate incentive scheme to encourage local and foreign investment in sectors of focus for economic diversification and for investment in new sectors especially those that can be supported by a well-educated workforce' (2010:57). This showed that providing Trinidadians with the opportunity of becoming bilingual could facilitate the development of the economy and foreign policy.

Unlike Phillipson's and Pennycook's assessment which focusses on structure as the reason for language rise and specifically categorises colonisation as the more salient variable, Trinidad and Tobago seem to be welcoming second languages by removing the language barriers that were previously put in place. Furthermore, the English language rise in Trinidad and Tobago appears to be moving away from the colonised notion that many scholars have used. Eriksen (2007) characterises this notion of globalisation as 'mixing', as cultures are being physically encouraged to mix within Trinidad and Tobago. What can be inferred is that Trinidad and Tobago appear to have approached a more globalised method which sees countries work

together in more solidarity, represented in the encouragement of English in their language policy. Approaching a more globalised method does not mean that structure is not influential, however, but it does suggest that agency may have been involved to be able to transition away from colonial ideologies to globalisation and, thus, become more tolerant of other countries. Although it could still be argued that structure is influencing language rise in the sense that Trinidad and Tobago appear to be influenced by the features of colonialism or globalisation, this could indicate that agency, as a choice, works alongside the options of colonialism and globalisation. This further supports the idea that a reassessment of language rise in postcolonial societies is needed to better provide a relevant model that explains language rise which considers agency as a variable.

The PPC manifesto of 2010 included one reference to the colonisation, ‘The Master and Servants Ordinance, which is an old colonial law, and contrary to the Decent Work policy of the International Labour Organisation, will be repealed’ (PPC, 2010). Here, the PPC pledge to remove a law that was introduced during the colonisation suggesting the PPC do not agree with or see value in it. It could be suggested that until the 2010 manifesto, colonialism may have limited the progression of wages within Jamaica despite the nation becoming independent 50 years earlier. On the other hand, the encouraged use of literacy skills and the promotion of a second language, as discussed above, suggests that the official language of the nation, English, may not have limited Trinidad in relation to work and wages. So, although elements of British colonial discourse remained in Trinidad and Tobago in 2010, which to an extent does support the postcolonial arguments by Phillipson and Pennycook, it is not implied the English language served Trinidad and Tobago negatively in this way.

9.6.4 People's Partnership Coalition 2015

Unlike the opposing party (PNM) manifesto of 2015, the PCC manifesto identified specific aims, including languages, that they aimed to implement within their education policy. The manifesto states, 'English, mathematics, management and Spanish will be compulsory' (PCC, 2015). Here, the party have repeated their pledge to use the English language in education while also taking on board an additional language of the European colonial centre, Spanish. It appears from this manifesto that the PPC were shown to be more receptive to the use and maintenance of an international language acknowledging its value in an international context. Additionally, this manifesto did not reference an invasion of foreign cultures, unlike the PNM, as represented in the absence of 'colonialism' and encouraged use of bilingualism among Trinidadian people. This is significant as Spanish was too, like English, a language that was used within the colonisation of the West Indies during the 17th and 18th centuries. The fact that the PPC in Trinidad and Tobago have appeared to overlook the stereotypes of English and Spanish from the colonial era, despite the strong opposition from Williams in 1962, suggests that attitudes towards global languages are changing compared to what has been previously reported by world English scholars (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994; Saraceni 2015). On the other hand, even though they appear to overlook colonial stereotypes, the manifesto still does not entirely rule out that they do not agree with English; but, the benefit that may be afforded to English, in this context, may outweigh the negatives and the reasons to avoid it. As identified above, this analysis fits soundly into Phillipson's and Pennycook's argument that structure is determining language rise in Trinidad and Tobago and is forcing the nation into a position where they must acquire English, whether they agree with it or not. However, this analysis can also demonstrate agency. It could be argued that agency works in a way that a

populace may choose to exploit the symbolic value that is afforded to English to further better their nation's position. Globalisation does not appear to impose to the extent that colonialism did and this suggests that taking part, and how far a nation does so, is determined by the nation. Furthermore, the choice of Trinidad and Tobago to engage with international languages may show that agency does contribute to language rise, even if that is alongside structure.

The PPC manifesto referred to both colonisation and globalisation once within their manifesto. Reference to the colonisation appeared in the party leader's message, 'The two major bases for this division are ethnicity and class. This is a legacy of our colonial experience'. Here, the leader suggests that the division in ethnicity and class was a result of the colonial era and that the ideology was still present in Trinidad and Tobago in 2015. On the other hand, this reference to the colonisation is not explicitly attached to Britain. Also, as English was encouraged within the PPC manifesto as discussed above, it could suggest that the learning of English may not have directly contributed to the division in ethnicity and class.

Interestingly, based on the findings that the PPC appear to have supported the use of English, as discussed above, the PPC's reference to globalisation is within the education policy. It states, 'with globalisation, heightened competition, changing labour markets, changing migration patterns and employment instability, the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago have to learn skills for the jobs of today and the jobs of the future' (PPC, 2015:49). This further acknowledges the need for sufficient literacy skills to facilitate globalisation, nationally and internationally. This suggests that there is a *linguistic capital* of English and Spanish in order to facilitate globalisation. Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) conceptualisation of linguistic capital is part of the wider cultural capital construction (*habitus*). Bourdieu claims that an individual's knowledge

and skills are exemplified by specific educational qualifications. Furthermore, he argues that English has been inherited and acquired over time and it influences a person's habitus. Specifically, he found that if a language can affect its surrounding environment, as evident in the opportunity given to speakers of English during the colonisation, the power of the linguistic product (English) can be recognised. Therefore, the product continues to be produced and continues to be associated with certain values. In relation to English in the Caribbean, Jamaicans and Trinidadians may consider speakers of English, as the mother-tongue of the UK, USA and Australia, to have power, credibility and accessibility. Consequently, languages such as English and Spanish may represent a form of capital to the extent that they admit a benefit to the speakers able with them. This could suggest that Jamaicans and Trinidadians want access to English and Spanish as a facilitator of globalisation and, as discussed above, may choose to exploit this symbolic value that is afforded to English to further better their nations' position. This argument is also supported by Weber (1978) who focusses his agency argument on the goal-directed activities of individuals. He argues, like the idea of Bourdieu's symbolic value, that an individual has a clear plan and attempts to exploit the net satisfaction of their preferences while minimising the cost involved. This rationality, then, behind making a choice implies an individual has preference. What can be argued, then, is that Jamaica and Trinidad may have used their act of agency to make preference to acquiring English within their nations.

To an extent, it can also be inferred there is a linguistic capital to the indigenous language of Patwa in Jamaica. The Language Attitude Survey showed many Jamaicans speak both English and Patwa but use the latter to communicate with close friends and family. It could be to an individual that Patwa may represent trust and solidarity, values they may not consider to be present in the use of English. Linking back to the theory put forward by Bourdieu (1977, 1991),

if Patwa is being produced as the language of communication to close friends and family, then Patwa will continue to be associated with these values. This implies a speaker of both Patwa and English may draw capital from both languages: Patwa to engage in friendships with those they trust and English to gain access to employment and opportunities both locally and globally.

This promotion of English, per Eriksen (2007) and Heffernan and Wastridge (2015), follows a pattern which may be associated with globalisation as the PPC wanted Trinidad and Tobago to remove their barriers to cultures including overseas' languages. The arguments that have been put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook state that the English language has imposed upon foreign cultures but it appears that modern-day Trinidadians are more likely to engage with foreign cultures and languages, including Spanish and English, to better serve their country internationally. Like Jamaica, this suggests that colonialism may no longer be a political concern in Trinidad and Tobago but instead globalisation, where nations work together to establish language policy, is now shown to be considered. However, the work conducted by Phillipson and Pennycook, as it stands, is shown to support the 21st century language attitudes in Trinidad and Tobago in the fact that a structure (globalisation) can be seen to influence language choice. Their focus, however, on colonialism as the primary driver behind language rise does not seem to be as equally supported. It appears, from this data, that globalisation may also drive English language rise in Trinidad and Tobago.

9.6.5 Summary of Trinidadian manifestos

Like Jamaica, it has been implied that Trinidad and Tobago expressed hostility towards English in their language policy in their manifestos of the 1970s. There was an absence of ‘literacy’ skills along with the specific language in which the language policy referenced. On the other hand, 21st century manifestos identified languages within their policies and included English in their access to global opportunities. Recent policies have proposed that bilingualism will better help the Trinidadian people to increase their opportunities in the global market.

An observation that is evident over the manifestos of both parties is the stress placed on literacy and trading internationally to better serve their nation in the future. This, alongside the increase use of a second language, may suggest that financial and economic prosperity is linked to bilingualism. It is evident that agency does play a role in the rise of the English language with both parties maintaining English language presence. Furthermore, if a country is better served economically by the acquisition of an additional language, a nation may not be seen to discourage the use of it.

As seen with Jamaica, it appears that opportunities are being presented by globalisation, rather than colonisation, and the populace of both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are choosing to embrace English into their nations to possibly allow access to globalisation. This, in the eyes of Phillipson and Pennycook, supports their argument that it is the role of structure that causes language rise. However, as supported by the arguments put forward by Bourdieu (1977, 1991), the choice to go-ahead with globalisation, considering multiple variables, implies that agency plays a role too. The choice to incorporate English into their nations indicates that agency does

play a role in language rise but the presence of structural forces suggests that there is a middle ground in which these two positions can be seen to work together.

9.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has analysed Jamaican and Trinidadian political party manifestos to identify whether agency plays a role in the rise of the English language and my findings have suggested that agency is a variable in language rise. Phillipson and Pennycook, however, have considered colonialism, as a structure, as the major driver behind language rise and they argue that colonial ideologies still exist in postcolonial nations and that they still influence the rise of the English language. My findings have suggested that colonialism may no longer be the significant driver behind language rise but globalisation is, although some colonial ideologies are still present in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. While colonialism appears to not be a political concern in these nations, globalisation is increasingly becoming considered in nations' policies and it may be the choice to engage with globalisation that may cause language rise. What has been discovered, then, is that structure may work alongside agency.

Both nations held on to values of colonialism in 1976 with all parties referring to the bitter period under colonial rule; however, the recent manifestos provide evidence that suggests they are beginning to overcome the colonial negativity and are introducing characteristics of globalisation. Both nations express an interest in trading internationally and maintaining strong, working relationships with international super powers. What I believe to be most significant in this analysis is that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have both identified the access English will bring to their nations: Jamaica recognised it as the international language

of communication while Trinidad and Tobago acknowledged the benefits of bilingualism in creating opportunities. To fulfil these motivations, it is implied that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago may have chosen to incorporate English into their nations on a larger scale to facilitate globalisation.

In regards to the acquisition of English and the nations' attitudes, the analysis found that, since 2011, the manifestos contained an increased use of language-based terms compared to the manifestos published in 1976. Additionally, languages were specifically identified in the recent manifestos, for example English and Spanish, compared to 1976 where only 'literacy' skills were used to discuss education policy. It is implied there was more hostility towards language policy in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in 1976 but their policies appear to have become receptive to alternative languages and open to discuss these in the 21st century. Phillipson's and Pennycook's language rise model does not account for the idea that multiple languages may exist in a nation even though the data from the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica and the political party manifestos suggest that speakers of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are multilingual.

Although aspects of Phillipson's and Pennycook's model are supported in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, their model cannot be fully applied as easily when colonial rule is long since superseded.

CHAPTER 10 - DISCUSSION

10.1 Overview

The analysis has indicated that agency does play a role in the rise of the English language. Because of this, it has also been shown that colonialism may no longer be the primary driver behind language rise.

The aim of my study was to assess the suitability of Phillipson's and Pennycook's language rise model in modern-day Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago by identifying if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. The quantitative findings have shown that since 1976, the manifestos have increased their use of language-based terms. The interpretation of the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica and the analysis of Jamaican and Trinidadian political party manifestos has allowed me to explore the use of language terms and conclude that agency does play a role in the rise of the English language. There is less presence of colonialism in the 21st century suggesting attitudes toward language rise have changed. Although not necessarily forgotten, colonialism may no longer be regarded as something that hinders Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The explicit identification of languages in 21st century education policies also suggests that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are beginning to overcome the stereotypes and history that have been previously attached to these languages. Furthermore, the choice to engage with these languages, that were once attached to the brutal structure of colonialism, signifies the choice of the people to acquire English and additional languages.

10.2 Agency

To reiterate, Phillipson's and Pennycook's work on language rise argued that colonial structures are the primary reason for the rise of the English language; but, rather than exploring the agency of the indigenous populations to discover this, their work used a heavy structural focus causing them to ignore important positions and insights. Social theory has also argued that agency, alongside structure, form two fundamental positions in human behaviour; as such, the need for both to be considered when studying human interaction and choice has been argued for by numerous scholars (Bourdieu, 1977; Canagarajah, 1999). What has been discovered, then, is that when attention is paid to how the structure (such as colonialism) influences indigenous populations, agency emerges. The findings from my data indicate that agency does play a role in language rise but while indexing this, they have also suggested that agency may work alongside structure in language rise. Furthermore, rather a language rise model that focusses purely on agency and structure separately, a middle ground where the two work together has been supported.

The manifestos did not show that agency works alone in language rise and the findings were not developed to an extent where the influence of agency could be measured. What was shown, however, is that while an explicit structure appears to be evident in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago (colonialism in the 20th century and globalisation in the 21st century), the choice to exploit the English language as a facilitator and to draw on its symbolic value as the international language of communication (Bourdieu, 1977) indicates that structure is not as significant in language rise as previously argued. Instead, agency can be identified to play a role too. Aspects of Phillipson's and Pennycook's arguments are shown to be supported in the

West Indies: a structural influence, such as colonialism and globalisation, can be seen to influence and encourage some choices in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago but not to the extent these scholars have previously argued.

Colonialism, as a structure, appears to be less of a political concern in present-day Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago as Phillipson and Pennycook have previously asserted. To overcome these colonial ideologies, despite some influence to maintain such ideologies, Jamaicans and Trinidadians have considered their options, for example, to remain in the colonial infrastructure or to move away from colonial ideologies and promote independence and new policies. To move away from the long-established influence of colonisation, and possibly the influence of other colonial nations who have remained on the colonial leash, suggests they have chosen to distance themselves from colonialism. As a result, then, as the colonial ideologies are not being encouraged, these colonial ideologies may, in the future, disappear. Bourdieu (1977) also argues that if something is reproduced, the symbolic value will continue to be reproduced too. Based on this, then, it could be suggested that if colonial ideologies stop being reproduced, the symbolic value and influence may decrease; thus, the influential power of colonialism reduces. As the influence of the structure appears to decrease in these postcolonial nations, agency is provided with the opportunity to emerge.

On the other hand, although colonialism no longer appears to be so influential in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and opportunity has emerged for agency, other structural processes have too emerged. What has been discovered is that globalisation appears to motivate some economic and foreign policy in the West Indies. Reference to globalisation within foreign policy increased within the 21st century manifestos and reference to colonialism decreased. So,

it could be argued that the impact of structure has not decreased, but it is the structure that has changed. When the nuances of these structures are explored, it reveals how the influential power of these structures differs. The narrative of the colonisation from the 17th -19th century described genocide, brutality and intolerance towards non-colonial attitudes and values. Globalisation, within the manifestos, has been described as a process that provides benefit to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, although some scholars would argue it could be as damaging as colonialism was (Crystal, 2003; Phillipson, 2009). The choice, then, of the nation to continue to engage with globalisation - to facilitate economic and foreign policy - may show that indigenous populations are exploiting the opportunities that globalisation may provide. What has also been implied is that although English language facilitates global communication, it is the choice to engage with globalisation which may result in language rise. As such, there may have been an intention to follow globalisation, but not the intention to raise the number of English language speakers. Furthermore, it is indicated that English language rise may be a result of engaging in globalisation. Here, the English language rise does not appear to be explicitly, or directly, affected by agency; however, agency can still be implied, via the process of supporting globalisation, in causing language rise.

10.3 Globalisation as a suitable model

Previous language rise models have argued that colonialism is the major driver behind language rise in postcolonial nations and when reflecting on Jamaica's and Trinidad and Tobago's time under colonial rule and immediately after their independence, linguistic imperialism is evident. However, in the 21st century, my analysis suggests that globalisation may now be the salient variable in language rise. My findings have indicated that traces of

colonialism have reduced since the 1970s and may no longer influence, or be a concern to, ex-British colonies as much as Phillipson and Pennycook have argued. Due to this, globalisation may provide a more relevant model in 21st century language rise models. As identified within the analysis of the political party manifestos in the previous chapter, Jamaican and Trinidadian parties have all shown an increase in characteristics of globalisation since 1976 while showing a decline in references to colonisation. Phillipson and Pennycook maintain that colonialism is the major driver behind why the English language continues to remain prominent around the world. They argue colonial constructs are still evident in ex-colonies despite colonialism having ended in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in 1962. Although the 1976 manifestos of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago showed traces of colonialism, I do not agree that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are imposed upon or limited by colonial ideologies in the 21st century. Furthermore, the analysis suggests that colonisation is not a political concern and, instead, globalisation and its ideologies may now influence these nations.

The presence of globalisation suggests there is more negotiation between nations and language policy compared to the 1970s and 80s when Phillipson and Pennycook constructed their initial models. Globalisation represents values of a 'two-way' street: solidarity and negotiation in order to sustain free-movement of capital (Eriksen, 2007). It can be suggested, judging from the sparse references to colonialism and the increased promotion of foreign alliances, that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are not overcome by colonial pressure from the West but are in fact building coalitions as part of their foreign policy which, thus, may cause language rise. Additionally, Trinidadian parties are also in favour of Latin American connections, where Spanish is the first language, and acknowledge that trade connections can be complemented by embedding Spanish into their curriculum. This further indicates an independent choice to adapt

language policy, and to draw on the symbolic value of Spanish, to successfully fulfil wider purposes of globalisation.

What is similar in the narratives of colonialism (Crystal, 2003; Phillipson, 1992) and the characteristics of globalisation (Eriksen, 2007) is that both processes appear to be motivated by economic and foreign policy. It is, however, how these processes are fulfilled which differs. Colonialism has been reported as force, and portrayed as the imposition of the colonisers on the indigenous people, described as *Self* and *Other* (Pennycook, 1994, Phillipson, 1992), which was motivated by the colonial powers extending their empire. Globalisation has been described as the process of creating international agreements between nations in order to fulfil economic and technological changes (Eriksen, 2007:143). The attributes of colonisation, despite the construction being regularly used in LPP research, maintain attached solely to British colonial activity. This suggests that British colonial ideologies are still present in postcolonial nations despite ‘colonialism’ being categorised as an outdated construction (Canagarajah, 1995; Mufwene, 2010). The manifestos did not attach Britain to colonialism but they did acknowledge hostility towards any nations who would take advantage of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and so it can be assumed Britain may have been gathered within this categorisation. The effect of using a language rise model that centres around colonisation, when 21st century data has indicated that colonialism may no longer be a political concern in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago as much as Phillipson and Pennycook argue, may produce results that are less accurate or representative of the current language situation within these nations. Additionally, a model which portrays Britain as responsible for the English language rise could deliver a false narrative of a Britain that still asserts colonial ideologies within their ex-colonies.

Phillipson's and Pennycook's language model argues that the rise of the English language is a result of colonialism which was imposed upon indigenous nations; as such, the colonial and linguistic history of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago as described earlier in the thesis supports that. The findings, however, suggest that there is growing solidarity between nations in 21st century Jamaican and Trinidadian language policy. Although Phillipson's and Pennycook's model, and linguistic imperialism specifically, may be suitable for analysing language rise during the British colonial era, where vast amounts of evidence showed that the indigenous nation had suffered brutally under their rule (Brereton, 1981; Higman, 2011), a new language model in the 21st century needs to be receptive to the idea that nations can negotiate their language policies to facilitate the socio-economic targets of the nation. Although this could be argued as a structure influencing a nation, the choice to move on from colonial ideologies and to facilitate aspects of globalisation indicates agency. It is as a secondary effect of converging towards these qualities of globalisation, though, where language begins to rise. A notable difference that has been discovered between the two structural positions is that no country had the choice to be colonised whereas nearly every country has the choice to be globalised. This then questions the influence of these different structures. Agency would not have emerged in the years of colonialism due to the violence and intolerance towards non-colonial ideologies and Phillipson's interpretation of *Self and Other* demonstrates that. On the other hand, globalisation does not appear to be as malicious or as powerful as colonialism when reflecting on the language attitudes that have been drawn from the manifesto analysis, although some scholars may disagree with this inference and argue that developed nations may be asserting their dominance through globalisation. Despite this, agency does appear to emerge in the process of globalisation when looking at the findings of the political party manifestos: it seems a middle ground emerges where agency works alongside structure in the 21st century in causing

language rise. So, although Phillipson's and Pennycook's arguments are supported to an extent by the language attitudes in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and the idea that structure can be seen to influence language rise, new language rise models should focus on agency and structure equally.

To an extent, it can be argued that English has spread as a business language not just because of economic dominance motivated by satisfying the characteristics of globalisation, but also because trading with most countries in the world requires English. So, although the British Council and ELT has been blamed for the rise of the English language, as argued by Phillipson, it could be suggested they are simply responding to the demands for the language from the likes of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Furthermore, if Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are recognising the wider advantage of English, institutions are only responding to their nations' choice to follow this. As discussed in chapter 9, and interpreted from the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica, the English language appears to hold a symbolic value of power and credibility, suggesting that English may facilitate globalisation and better opportunity for the populace of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The choice to exploit the accessibility of English further indicates that agency contributes to the rise of the English language.

10.4 Cultural baggage

Previous research suggested that the English language could not be acquired successfully by an individual without conforming to its culture, meaning and values (Saraceni, 2015; Wierzbicka, 2006). Based on this research, it has been argued that the English language must enter every aspect of an individual's life for them to succeed; but, the findings from the political

party manifestos analysis and the interpretation of the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica do not entirely support this argument. The findings suggest that nations are beginning to recognise English as the international language of communication with the People's National Party of Jamaica specifically pledging to give priority to English in schools as 'the international language of communication' (PNP, 2016). It appears Jamaica are assigning - to what I express as - a *situational context* to the English language and are recognising its global presence. The analysis of the Language Attitude Survey showed that English use is favoured in specific contexts and situations. Additionally, this idea of favouring language in certain contexts is also shown in Trinidad and Tobago where the PPC (2010) actively encouraged Spanish within their school curriculum to facilitate Latin America coalitions. It could be inferred that if Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago can assign English and Spanish to a context such as in business, English and Spanish can be contained in the sense it can be controlled. If English, therefore, can be removed from the 'imposition of everyday life' (Phillipson, 1992; Saraceni, 2015) and used to facilitate foreign policy, as inferred from the manifestos, then it could be proposed that the 'cultural baggage' attached to the English language may have reduced in these nations. Furthermore, if languages can be made situational, as supported by the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica which suggested an individual would code-switch in conversation from English to Patwa depending on the familiarity of the receiving partner, then two or more languages can coexist in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The decrease in English 'cultural baggage', then, puts forward an idea that English acquired for international communicative purposes may be different to the English language that is acquired and used in everyday social contexts. There is an assumption that the use of English within a nation cannot be controlled and that the indigenous language will suffer. However, it can be suggested that English may not be as damaging to a nation as previously argued.

Saraceni (2015) and Wierzbicka (2006) also argued that ‘cultural baggage’ was attached to the English language but they did not specify which variation of the English language these cultures have stemmed from. Mufwene (1994, 1998, 2010) argues that labelling an English variety by the country in which it is spoken, e.g. Trinidadian English and Jamaican English, is not identifying a nation which speaks native English but is in fact representative of the language evolution that has taken on board the indigenous culture in which it is used. He states English is ‘changing its features in response to the previous communicative habits of its new speakers, and meeting new communicative needs’ (2010:43). Furthermore, native English language cultures of the UK, USA and Australia cannot be seen to impose upon indigenous cultures when English cultures cannot be overtly characterised. Graddol (1997:5) further states, ‘The English language has grown up in contact with many other languages making it a hybrid language which can rapidly evolve to meet new cultural and communicative needs’. It seems inappropriate to argue that the English language imposes on cultures when English, used in different nations, has fluid cultural properties that cannot be clearly identified.

Overall, the diffusion of the English ‘cultural baggage’ suggests that the English language can be controlled and bound to specific contexts with little detrimental effect on Jamaicans’ or Trinidadians’ lives. Moreover, if an individual chooses to use English in business and employment and then uses Jamaican Patwa in social settings, such as in the informal conversations observed from the Language Attitude Survey in Jamaica, it reveals that the two languages can coexist. Phillipson and Pennycook do not explore bilingualism in their models but instead promote a monolingual position that encourages the use of indigenous, minor languages at the expense of the English language. A new model needs to consider that two

languages can coexist in a nation and that multilingualism, in the 21st century, is becoming the norm.

10.5 Language maintenance

Although only a few manifestos explicitly encouraged the English language, they neither denied or refuted the use of it. The findings implied that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago may want to maintain the use of the English language in their nations. This has been implied through the absence of language promotion, both English and indigenous language forms, but the promotion of building coalitions with English-speaking nations suggests English is being maintained in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to communicate successfully with their trading partners. Phillipson's and Pennycook's anti-imperialist framework tends towards nationalist responses which claim that nations should encourage the use of indigenous languages and their cultures to prevent the further spread of the English language. It can be implied from the findings that the Jamaican and Trinidadian parties do not take a nationalist approach towards their language policy but nor have they encouraged the use of the major language English. Because of this, the findings indicate two ideas: both languages can coexist together in the same nations; and English, in its current state of an official language, is maintainable. Neither are considered within Phillipson's and Pennycook's models. Phillipson, specifically, takes a homogenous position with a 'neo-colonial polity' to language spread arguing that English linguistic imperialism, in time, will spread and remove all indigenous languages. When reflecting on the history of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, it is understood how this conclusion was formed when considering the colonial ideologies that were enforced. What has been revealed, despite Jamaican and Trinidadian values of encouraging a national identity and

indigenous culture, is that the use of the English language does not appear to threaten Jamaica or Trinidad and Tobago in this way. Therefore, it could suggest that change to their language policies was unnecessary which may explain the absence of un-specific literacy pledges in many of their manifestos. A new model of language rise needs to consider that nations can be bilingual and that languages can coexist alongside each other without threatening either's position in society. A language rise model that is not receptive to bilingualism could be seen to ignore the sociolinguistic context of a nation.

10.6 Exonormative orientation

The analysis of the manifestos suggests that colonialism is not a major political concern in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago; what emerges, instead, is that globalisation is increasingly being considered in their policies. This sees Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago become receptive to foreign relations which may, because of interconnectedness (Eriksen, 2007), encourage the use of alternative languages. Jamaica's and Trinidad and Tobago's choice to continue with foreign policy, aware of the consequences of globalisation, could represent the nations' acceptance of foreign languages. This implies that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago may have removed their barriers to English that were once erected in the infancy of their independence to fend off penetrating languages and cultures. Unlike Phillipson and Pennycook who position postcolonial nations as taking on an endonormative orientation towards the English language by encouraging nations to look inwards and to rely on local forms, features of an exonormative orientation can be inferred in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

On the other hand, it could be argued that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are, to an extent, taking on elements of an endonormative position by encouraging an awareness of their local culture. The JLP (2011) referred to 'Brand Jamaica' and the Language Attitude Survey found that 68.5% of participants wanted the government to recognise Patwa as an official language. These results, however, compared with the findings from the manifesto analysis further suggests that a national identity, including the use of Patwa, can be encouraged alongside the maintenance of the English language.

10.7 The emphasis on the British Council

It has been explained in previous chapters that ELT is not solely about the British Council but is also about what is going on in schools. Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago embed English within their school curriculum and English teaching is not just promoted as private tuition via external agencies. English in the school curriculum, looking back to pre-independence, has shown to have more of an influence in the rise of the English language than the British Council. A model that stresses the rise of the English language as a product of the actions of the British Council could be seen to ignore Jamaica's and Trinidad's views and attempts at integrating English into their societies. This obliviousness relays a British dominant narrative of English rise, as if still presenting a pre-independent society, despite evidence suggesting Britain no longer interferes with language policies to the extent Phillipson and Pennycook have suggested.

10.8 Beyond globalisation

The features of globalisation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are the reduction of trade barriers and the liberalisation of capital markets and avenues for foreign direct investment. However, when reflecting on the colonial histories of these nations, trade barriers, investment and migration were evident in the initial face of colonialism in the 17th century. Based on this, it could be asked whether globalisation helps or hurts Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Globalisation works for small countries because it grows their economies; however, it could be suggested that the process in larger economically developed countries may no longer benefit smaller nations. As a result, globalisation could slow down or even reverse once global labour costs and living standards are equal in nations. If globalisation can be differentiated depending on the economic size of a state, it suggests globalisation is not ‘global’ but is ‘local’ while implying that globalisation can also be measured.

Recent events such as Britain deciding to leave the largest trading bloc in the world and the victory of Donald Trump who vowed to withdraw from major trade deals suggests globalisation has suffered significant losses. Relating back to Krishna’s (2008) globalisation definition in chapter 1, globalisation has been considered as the accelerated spread of a free-market-based and capitalist style of production over an increasing sample of nations. As Skidelsky (2012:12) puts it, ‘globalisation seemed to offer a complete answer to the main problems of international society – the problems of poverty, political repression and war’. In practice, this usually meant that industry would move from rich countries where labour was expensive to poor countries where labour was cheap. However, on reflection, people in the rich countries would normally have to accept low wages or a risk of job loss in order to compete

which, according to Mills (1998:84), leads to unrealistic high returns, driving stock prices down causing severe damage to economies. In Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago where globalisation is still in its infancy, they are beginning to meet barriers within globalisation that are being built by the larger economic super-powers who are moving away from free-market trade. So, although globalisation is still progressing in smaller nations, it could be slowing down in others.

Globalisation, then, may only be temporary; in time, it may be replaced by new theories and concepts but for now its influence, as a structure alongside agency, must be considered in language rise models.

10.9 The future of language rise models

Existing language rise models determine the rise of the English language as a result of colonialism which relays an ideology-bound narrative that language rise was, and will continue to be, a result of colonialism. On the other hand, when the political party manifestos and the Language Attitude Survey were analysed, evidence was found that colonialism may no longer be the significant construction that determines language rise in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The data provided evidence to suggest that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago maybe choosing to maintain the English language within their nation. Previous language rise models have implied that the English language imposes upon nations while denying indigenous language and cultures the chance to develop. The findings have indicated that agency does play a role in the English language, as inferred from the Jamaican and Trinidadian manifestos, but that agency can be seen to work alongside structure. What has also been discovered is when language rise is analysed from two perspectives, colonisation and globalisation, language rise

narratives change. Agency, quite evidently, did not play a role in the rise of the English language during colonisation as recalled in chapter 2; but in the 21st century, evidence indicates it does. Although both centuries have been influenced by structure explicitly, the influential power of these structures differs. The power of colonisation seems stronger than globalisation. As such, as the influence of globalisation appears weaker, agency is seen to emerge. The extent of this emergence, however, cannot be determined from my data.

The work conducted by Phillipson and Pennycook and by myself in this study shows that two outcomes of language rise can be drawn from the evaluation of a nation's language policy: the first regards English as bad and undesirable, and the second regards English as good and wanted. This thesis has shown that a language rise assessment must consider the two fundamental positions in human behaviour: agency and structure. With this, the socio-economic factors, such as those that stimulate globalisation, cannot be ignored; but, alongside this, the views of the periphery need to be considered to determine what is considered as the social 'good'.

10.10 Chapter summary

The purpose of this study was to identify whether agency is a factor in the rise of the English language. The analysis of the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica and the political party manifestos of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago showed an increase in English language and globalisation references since 1976. Although Phillipson's and Pennycook's language rise model implied that the English language imposes a colonial ideology upon nations, the findings have indicated that there are fewer colonial ideologies influencing Jamaica and Trinidad and

Tobago in the 21st century compared to their colonial past. Furthermore, the decrease in structural influence suggests agency can emerge as a role in language rise. Additionally, Trinidad and Tobago also encouraged the use of Spanish alongside English in their nation implying foreign languages can exist without the indigenous languages suffering. The capability of these two nations to support the presence of English, although to facilitate globalisation, suggests that agency does play a role in English language rise in the 21st century. Within these nations, education and foreign policies presented English as a means of access to human development and the mode of communication with foreign nations. Existing language rise models have suggested colonialism, as a structural position, is responsible for the rise of English but the analysis has suggested colonisation may no longer be as significant in language rise as previously argued. Instead, it emerges that globalisation, as a structure, may drive language rise alongside agency and the choice of nations to engage with globalisation.

CHAPTER 11 - CONCLUSION

11.1 Overview

The study aimed to determine whether the language rise models that have been put forward by Phillipson and Pennycook are applicable to present day Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and to identify if agency plays a role in the rise of the English language. In part, the study has shown that agency contributes to the rise of the English language and it has been established that colonialism may no longer be the major driver behind its rise. It has, however, implied that globalisation, as a structure, alongside agency may encourage the rise of the English language. Furthermore, it has been indicated that it is the choice of a nation to be involved in globalisation for foreign and economic prosperity that encourages the rise of the English language.

11.2 Findings

The aims have been supported by the findings in that the populace of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are choosing to maintain and, in some cases, encourage the use of the English language. Both nations appear to be more receptive to the English language compared to in the 1970s and they recognise the position of English as the international language of communication. Thus, from a language planning view, it seems appropriate to conclude that language rise is affected by agency but not necessarily as a primary action. This is also shown in the solidarity that has developed between Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and other native English-speaking nations. This also identified that language rise is beginning to move away from colonialism (and the imposition of English) and is now showing aspects of globalisation suggesting, in the

21st century, this is a construct that may drive language rise. In terms of language policy, language barriers are beginning to be overcome and the receptiveness to multi-culturalism shows that language policy is becoming a two-way street.

Alongside this, exposure to indigenous languages, Patwa and Creole, has also increased. The Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica implied that Patwa is as important as English and neither carry stereotypes or affect the other. This suggests that English can be controlled, limiting the ‘cultural baggage’ that world English theorists have argued is carried with the English language. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the English language can be assigned to situational contexts without imposing on other settings, while also co-existing with a nation’s indigenous language.

The research that has been conducted within this study is important in indicating that language rise models do need to consider both agency and structure. The findings have shown that although existing language rise models are relevant when exploring language rise during colonisation, in the 21st century they appear outdated. New models need to consider relevant and current global processes as well fundamental human behaviour positions that influence choice.

11.3 Limitations

Although my findings indicate that agency does play a role in language rise, the use of political party manifestos, to an extent, hindered the analyses to develop further. The political party manifestos were produced for the purpose of persuading the populace to vote for their party;

as such, they were not produced with the intention to be used as data and for the specific aims of this investigation. Likewise, the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica was also secondary data and was not originally conducted as part of my study. Due to this, interpretations, at times, were limited by the discourse of political documents and the results of the survey. This method of data collection will need revising for future research in the Language Policy and Planning discipline to increase the degree of accuracy in the findings.

Political party manifestos also contain latent data. Due to this, these manifestos did not provide a complete account of Jamaican and Trinidadian language attitudes as the information provided had been selected to satisfy the form and purpose of party manifestos. It was, however, the focussed analysis which allowed this data to be harvested and analysed; but, as this analysis was partially subjective (although informed by existing research and historical context) conclusions that have been drawn may be limited.

11.4 Future research

Moving forward, the research now offers a foundation for further research on 21st century English language rise to establish whether agency in language rise models is to be found in other postcolonial nations. In regards to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and since it has been indicated that agency does play a role in language rise, this study has opened a field of enquiry that asks how far agency contributes to language rise and whether the influence of structure and agency can be measured in language rise models.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACETO, M. (2003) *What are Creole languages? An alternative approach to the anglo-phone Atlantic world with special emphasis on Barbudan Creole English*. In ACETO, M. AND WILLIAMS, . (eds) *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-140.
- AHEARN, L.M. (2001) *Language and Agency*. Annual Review of Anthropology. **30**, 109-137.
- ALLEYNE, M. (1963) *Communication and Politics in Jamaica*. Caribbean Studies. **3**(2), 21-61.
- ALLEYNE, M. (1971) *Acculturation and the cultural matrix of creolization*. In HYMES, D. (ed) *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. International Conference on Pidgin and Creole. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 169-186.
- AMMON, U. (1998) *Ist Deutsch noch internationale wissenschaftssprache? Englisch auch für die lehre an den deutschsprachigen Hochschulen*. Berlin: Mouton de Gryter.
- ARCHER, M. (1995) *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ASHCROFT, B. (1989) *The Empire Writes Back: A Theory and Practice in Postcolonial literatures*. New York: Routledge.
- BAKER, P. (2000) *Theories of creolization and the degree and nature of restructuring*. In NEUMANN-HOLZSCHUH, I. AND SCHNEIDER, E. (eds) *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 41-63.
- BARA, J. (2005) *A question of trust: implementing party manifestos*. Parliamentary Affairs **58**, 585-599.
- BECKFORD WASSINK, A. (1999) *Historic low prestige and seeds of change: attitudes towards Jamaican Creole*. Language in Society. **28**, 57-92.
- BERG, B.L. (2001) *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1977) *Outline of a theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- BRERETON, B. (1981) *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962*. Port of Spain: Heinemann Educational Books (Caribbean) Ltd.
- BRITISH COUNCIL (2017) *Annual Reports and Accounts 2016-2017* [online]. [viewed 18th March 2018]. Available from: <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/annual-report-2016-17.pdf>.
- CANAGARAJAH, S. (1995) *Reviewed Work(s): Linguistic Imperialism by Robert Phillipson*. *Language in Society*. **24** (4), 590-594.
- CANAGARAJAH, S. (1999a) *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CARIBBEAN ELECTIONS. (2018) *Trinidad and Tobago General Election Results 1946-present* [online]. Caribbean Elections. [viewed 20th June 2018]. Available from: <http://www.caribbeanelections.com/tt/elections/default.asp>.
- CARRINGTON, L. (1976) *Determining language education policy in Caribbean sociolinguistic complexes*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. **8**, 27-43.
- CARRINGTON, L. (2001) *The status of Creole in the Caribbean*. In CHRISTIE, P. (ed) *Due Respect: Essays of English and English-related Creoles in the Caribbean: in honour of Professor Robert Le Page*. Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 25-36.
- CHRISTIE, P. (2003) *Language in Jamaica*. Kingston: Arawak Publications.
- COLLIER, M.W. (2005) *Political corruption in the Caribbean basin: constructing a theory combat corruption*. New York: Routledge.
- CRAIG, D. (1970) *Bidialectal education: Creole and Standard in the West Indies*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. **8**, 93-134.
- CRAIG, D. (1980) *Models for educational policy in Creole-speaking communities*. In VALMAN, A. AND HIGHFIELD, R. (eds). *Theoretical orientations in Creole studies*. New York/ London: Academic Press, 245-265.
- CRAIG, D. (1999) *Teaching language and literacy: Policies and procedures for vernacular situations*. Georgetown, Guyana: Education and development services.
- CRAIG, D. (2006) *The use of the vernacular in West Indian Education*. In SIMMONDS-MCDONALD, H. AND ROBERTSON, I. (eds) *Exploring the Boundaries of the Caribbean Creole Languages*. Jamaica: University West Indies Press, 99-117.
- CRYSTAL, D. (2003) *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DENSCOMBE, M. (2007) *The good research guide: for small-scale social research project*. New York: Open University Press.

- DEUBER, D. (2009) *Standard English in the secondary school in Trinidad: Problems – properties – prospects*. In HOFFMAN, T. & SIEBERTS, L. (eds.) *World Englishes – problems, properties and prospects: Selected papers from the 13th IAWC conference*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 83-104
- DEUBER, D. (2013) *Towards Endonormative standards of English in the Caribbean: a study of students' beliefs and school curricular*. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. **26**(3), 109-127.
- DEUBER, D. (2014) *English in the Caribbean: Variation, style and standard in Jamaica and Trinidad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DEVONISH, H. (1986) *Language and Liberation: Creole Language Politics in the Caribbean*. London: Karia Press.
- DOWDING, R. (2008) *Agency and structure: Interpreting power relationships*. *Journal of Power*. **1**(1), 21-36.
- DUFF, P. (2007) *Case Study Research in Applied Linguistics*. New York: Routledge.
- ERIKSEN, T. (2007) *Globalization: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: Berg.
- FAIRCLOUGH, N. (2006) *Language and Globalisation*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- GHANDI, L. (1998) *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GIRI, R.A. (2007) *The power and price of English*. In FARRELL, L. AND FENWICK, T. (eds) *Educating the global workforce*. London: Routledge, 211-224.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1967) *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face to Face Behaviour*. New York: Pantheon.
- GRADDOL, D. (1997) *The Future of English* [online]. London: The British Council. [viewed 6th October 2018]. Available from: https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/pub_learning-elt-future.pdf
- GRIN, F. (2006) *Economic considerations in language policy*. In RICENTO, T. (ed) *Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 77-94.
- HAMEL, R. E. (2007) *The dominance of English in the international scientific periodical literature and the future of language use in science*. *AILA Review*. **20**, 53-71.

- HANSELL, E. C. AND DEUBER, D. (2013) *Globalisation, postcolonial Englishes and the English language press in Kenya, Singapore and Trinidad and Tobago*. Symposium on World Englishes in World Regions. **32**(3), 338-357.
- HARMEL, R. (2016) *The how's and why's of party manifestos: Some guidance for a cross-national research agenda*. Party Politics. **24**(3), 229-239.
- HIGMAN, B.W. (2000) *The sugar revolution*. The Economic History Review. **53**(2), 213-236.
- HIGMAN, B.W. (2011) *A Concise History of The Caribbean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HINRICHS, L. (2006) *Codeswitching on the Web: English and Jamaican Creole in E-mail Communication*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing.
- HOVARTH, R.J. (1972) *A definition of Colonisation*. Current Anthropology. **13**(1), 45-57.
- HOWATT, A.P.R. (1984) *A History of English Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- HOOD, M. (2009) *Case studies*. In HEIGHAM, J. AND CROKER, R. (eds) *Qualitative Research in Applied Linguistics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 66-90.
- HURRELMANN, K. (1988) *Social Structure and Personality Development: The individual as a productive processor of reality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY. (1976) *Election Manifesto: General Election Policy Guidelines of the Jamaica Labour Party*. Kingston, Jamaica: Communications Corporation of Jamaica Ltd. Senate House Library, University of London.
- JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY. (2011) *The JLP Manifesto 2011* [online]. [viewed 29th April 2018]. Available from: <http://www.jamaicalabourparty.com/content/jlp-manifesto-2011>.
- JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY. (2016) *The JLP Manifesto 2016* [online]. [viewed 29th April 2018]. Available from: <http://www.jamaicalabourparty.com/content/jlp-manifesto-2016>.
- JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY. (2018) *The History of the JLP* [online]. Jamaica Labour Party. [viewed 26th May 2018]. Available from: <http://www.jamaicalabourparty.com/content/history-jlp>.
- JAMAICA, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, YOUTH AND CULTURE. (2001). *Language Education Policy* [online]. [viewed 6th August 2018]. Available from: <http://www.moec.gov.jm/policies/languagepolicy.pdf>
- JAMAICAN OBSERVER. (2011) *2011 Manifesto of the People's National Party* [online]. [viewed 22nd April 2018]. Available from:

http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/www/pnp_manifesto_2011.pdf

JAMAICAN OBSERVER. (2011) *Jamaica's election results over the years* [online]. Jamaica Observer. [viewed 20th June 2018]. Available from: <http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/-JaVote2016--Jamaica-s-election-results-over-the-years>.

JETTKA, D. (2010) *The Language Situation of Jamaica: Language Education Policy in the tension between Standard Jamaican English and Jamaican Patwa* [online]. [Viewed 7th May 2018]. Available from: http://www.daniel-jettka.de/pdf/JETTKA-The_language_situation_of_Jamaica.pdf

JOHNSON, B. (2003) *Values in English language teaching*. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis Group.

KACHRU, B. J. (1986) *Standards, codification and sociolinguistics realism: the English language in the outer circle*. In QUIRK, R. AND WIDDOWSON, H.G. (eds) *English in the world: teaching and learning the language literatures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-30.

KARP, (1986) *Agency and social theory: a review of Anthony Giddens*. American Ethnologist. **13**(1), 131-137.

KAVANAGH, D. (1981) *The politics of manifestos*. Parliamentary Affairs. **34**, 7-27.

KITZINGER, J. (1994b) *The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants*. Sociology of Health and Illness. **16**(1), 103-121.

KITZINGER, J. AND BARBOUR. R.S. (1999) *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.

KRIPPENDORFF, K. (2013) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. 3rd ed. California: Sage Publications.

KRISHNA, S. (2008) *Globalization and post colonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the twenty-first century*. Plymouth: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers.

LOOMBA, A. (1998) *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*. London and New York: Routledge.

LONDON, N.A. (2003) *Enriching the English Language in a British colony: curriculum policy and practice in Trinidad and Tobago*. International Journal of Educational Development. **23**(1), 97- 112.

LONDON, N.A. (2003) *Ideology and Politics in English Language- education in Trinidad and Tobago: The Colonial Experience and a Postcolonial Critique*. Comparative Educational Review. **47**(3), 287-320.

LUKE, L. B. (2007) *Identity and Secession in the Caribbean: Tobago Versus Trinidad, 1889-1980*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

MAR-MOLINERO, C. (2000) *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World: From colonisation to globalisation*. London: Routledge.

MEEKS, B. (2000) *Narratives of resistance: Jamaica, Trinidad, the Caribbean*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

MILLS, G. (1998) *The future of globalisation*. South African Journal of International Affairs. **6**(1), 83-87.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE. (1975) *New Primary School Syllabus* [online]. [viewed 25th July 2018]. Available from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED128078.pdf>.

MUFWENE, S.S. (2010) *Globalization, Global English, and World English(es): Myths and Facts*. In COUPLAND, N. (ed) *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing, 31-55.

MUFWENE, S.S. (2015) *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences. **2** (8), 133-145.

MÜHLEISEN, S. (2001) *'Is 'Bad English' dying out?' A diachronic comparative study of attitudes towards Creole versus Standard English in Trinidad*. In FARQUHARSON, J. AND MIGGE, B. (ed) *Pidgins and Creoles: Critical Concept* [online]. London: Routledge, 43-78. [viewed 16th September 2018]. Available from: <http://web.fu-berlin.de/phn/phn15/p15t3.htm>

NORTON, B. (ed) (1997) *Language and identity*. TESOL Quarteley, **31**(3), 409-429.

PARRY, J.H., SHERLOCK, P. AND MAINGOT, A. (1987) *A Short History of the West Indies*. 4th ed. London: Macmillan Education.

PATRICK, P. (1997) *Style and register in Jamaican Patwa*. In SCHNEIDER, E.W. *Englishes around the world*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 41-55.

PATRICK, P. (1999) *Urban Jamaican Creole: Varieties in the Mesolect*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

PENNYCOOK, A. (1994) *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. Essex: Longman Group Limited.

PENNYCOOK, A. (1998) *English and the discourses of Colonialism*. London: Routledge.

PENNYCOOK, A. (2000) *Language, Ideology and Hindsight: Lessons from Colonial Language Policies*. In RICENTO, T. (ed) *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English*. Impact: studies in Language and Society. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 49-65.

PENNYCOOK, A. (2007) *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge.

PHILLIPSON, R. (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PHILLIPSON, R. (1994) *Realities and Myths of Linguistic Imperialism*. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development. **18**(3), 238-248.

PHILLIPSON, R. (2009) *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*. New York: Routledge.

RASSOOL, N. (2013) *The Political Economy of English Language and development*. In ERLING, E. J. AND SEARGEANT, P. (eds) *English and Development: Policy, Pedagogy and Globalization*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 45-67.

RICENTO, T. (ed) (2000) *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English*. Impact: Studies in Language and Society. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

RICENTO, T. (2006) *An introduction to language policy: Theory and Method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

RICENTO, T. (2010) *Language Policy and Globalization*. In COUPLAND, N. (ed) *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 123-141.

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY. (1976) *Election Manifesto of the People's National Party*. Jamaica: Political Party Materials. PP.JM. Senate House Library, University of London, London, United Kingdom.

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY (2016) *PNP Manifesto 2016* [online]. [Viewed 22nd April 2018]. Available from: https://issuu.com/thepeoplesnationalparty/docs/pnp_manifesto_2016.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTNERSHIP (2010) *The People's Partnership Manifesto* [online]. [Viewed 21st April 2018]. Available from: <http://unctt.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/peoples-manifesto-2010.pdf>.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTNERSHIP (2015) *The People's Partnership Manifesto* [online]. Viewed 20th June 2018]. Available from: <https://www.scribd.com/document/275640886/Peoples-Partnership-2015-Manifesto>.

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL MOVEMENT. (1976) *The People's National Movement Manifesto General elections*. Trinidad and Tobago: Political Party Materials. PP.TR. PNM. Senate House Library, University of London, London, United Kingdom.

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL MOVEMENT. (2015) *People's National Movement Manifesto* [online]. [Viewed 21st April 2018]. Available from: http://www.pnmtnt.org/images/pdf/PNM_Manifesto_2015.pdf.

SARACENI, M. (2015) *World Englishes: A Critical Analysis*. London and New York: Bloomsbury.

- SCHIFFMAN, H. F. (1996) *Linguistic culture and Language Policy*. London: Routledge.
- SCHNEIDER, E. (2007) *Postcolonial Englishes: varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SCHEUERMAN, W. (2008) *Globalization*. In ZALTA, E.N. (ed) *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* [online]. [viewed 30th May 2018]. Available from: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/globalization/>
- SCOTT, J. (1990) *A Matter of Record: Documentary sources in social research*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- SEWELL, W.H. (1992) *A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency and Transformation*. *American Journal of Sociology*. **98**(1), 1-29.
- SILVERMAN, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Method of analyzing talk, text and interaction*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications.
- SKIDELSKY, R. (2012) *After the Crash: The Future of Globalisation*. *Survival* [online]. **54** (3), 7-28. [viewed 31st July 2018]. Available from: <https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1080/00396338.2012.690975?needAccess=true>
- STEPHENS, E.U. AND STEPHENS, J.D. (1987) *The Transition to Mass Parties and Ideological Politics: The Jamaican Experience since 1972*. *Comparative Political Studies*. **19**(4), 443-483.
- STONE, C. (1979) *The 1976 Parliamentary Election in Jamaica*. *Caribbean Studies* [online]. **19**(1), 33-50. [Viewed 26th May 2018]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25612858>.
- UNIVERSITIES UK. (2015) *Patterns and Trends in UK higher education* [online]. [Viewed 15th May 2018]. Available from: <http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Documents/2015/patterns-and-trends-2015.pdf>.
- WEBER, M. (1978 [1922]) *Economy and Society*. Berkeley: University California Press.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (2006) *English: meaning and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WILLIAMS, E. (1964) *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited.
- WILLIAMS, E. (1966) *British Historians and the West Indies*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited.
- WILSON, B. (1996) *From democratic socialism to neoliberalism: the matamorphoses of the people's national party in Jamaica*. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. **31**(2), 58-82.

WINER, L. (1984) *Early Trinidadian Creole: The Spectator Texts*. English World-Wide, **5**, 181-210.

WINER, L. (1993) *Trinidad and Tobago*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

WINFORD, D. (2008) *English in the Caribbean*. In MOMMA, H. AND MATTO, M. (eds) (2009) *A Companion to the History of the English Language*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 413-422.

YOUSSEF, V. AND DEUBER, D. (2009) *ICE Trinidad and Tobago: Teacher language investigation in a university research class* [online]. Corpus Linguistic Conference 2007, University of Birmingham, 27-30th July 2007. [viewed: 10th October 2018]. Available from: <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/documents/college-artslaw/corpus/conference-archives/2007/30Paper.pdf>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – THE PEOPLE’S NATIONAL PARTY 1976

PNP 1976 ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE PEOPLE’S NATIONAL PARTY

We call on all Jamaican’s of goodwill to work with use to build a society of justice and equality of opportunity under DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM!

From the very beginning of its existence in 1940, the People’s National Party declared:

[a] That we are a Socialist Party

[b] That we are irrevocably committed to the principles of Parliamentary Democracy, the Rule of Law and the recognition that the promotion of the freedom, dignity and well-being of the Individual human being was the supreme goal of Government

[c] That we are committed to achieving the fullest measure of political and economic Independence for the people of Jamaica.

These have always been and remain our guiding principles. Over the years, whether in Government or in Opposition, we have steadfastly kept these principles as our guide. We have sought to express them in statements of policy for discussion and consideration, in the conduct of our Party affairs and the programmes of action which we have implemented in office.

These policies and programmes have continued and will continue to be developed in the light of changing circumstances and in response to the felt needs of you the people of Jamaica.

This is the essence of democracy and the precondition of progress.

But we never have departed and never will depart from the fundamental principles stated above. We have always taken the people of Jamaica into our confidence as to what we intend to do. We have never lied to you about our intentions or pretended to be something which we are not, As we return to you once again for a mandate to lead Jamaica for another five years we do so on the basis of our past performance, our frank and fearless recognition of the difficulties and challenges we face as a nation in the years ahead and our programme of action to respond to the challenges and overcome those difficulties.

WHAT WE FOUND IN 1972

When the P.N.P administration took office in 1972, we inherited:

- (a) A Jamaica that was Independent only in name with no concept of a foreign policy and still bound with the mental shackles of the Colonial era.
- (b) A Jamaica that had almost lost confidence in the possibility of honest Government.
- (c) Some 350,000 adults unable to read and write.
- (d) Over 23 per cent of our labour force unemployed in spite of the fact in 1962 the unemployment rate was only 13 per cent and in spite of the fact that the years 1962-1972 were boom years for the world economy and Jamaica was alleged to have enjoyed record growth rate of gross National Product during these years.
- (e) An educational system that threw the vast majority of our children on to the labour market at 15 years of age, without skills and with little chance of making anything worthwhile of their lives.

- (f) An army of youth - frustrated, disillusioned, unemployed -lacking both in skills and in any hope for a chance in life, bereft of any comfort in the present or any vision of a brighter future,
- (g) Gross maldistribution and under-utilization of land, with vast acreages lying idle and concentrated in a few hands, while those who were ready, willing and able to work the land productively either had no land at all or owned such a small amount that they could not support themselves and their families from its produce.
- (h) A country in the grip of a rising tide of crime and violence that made citizens afraid to walk the streets of our towns at night and continually fearful in their homes.
- (i) A country without a sense of purpose and direction. While highrise buildings and luxurious homes sprouted in some areas, the majority were falling ever farther behind in terms of housing, healthcare, nutrition and all the basic amenities of life. Frustration, alienation and desperate violence grew and festered in the slums and ghettos of our capital city and our urban areas.
- (j) It was a Jamaica that had to change or perish. The years since then have not been easy but we have begun 'the process of necessary change and if must not, cannot, be turned back.

OUR PERFORMANCE PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

- (a) We have lowered the voting age to 18 and dramatically improved the cumbersome system of voter registration to ensure that all who are eligible to vote have the opportunity to do so.
- (b) Under the guidance of the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, the rights of the Opposition in Parliament have been protected and enhanced to a degree in a manner that stands in starting contrast to their conduct while in office.
- (c) As we have promised in 1972 we have set about restoring public confidence in the honesty and integrity of Parliamentarians, which had been so shamefully eroded during the years of Labour Party rule by legislation compelling annual disclosure of assets to an impartial body.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

We have made the promotion of equality of opportunity, the Improvement of skills, the raising of nutritional standards and health care, the widest availability of welfare services and better housing our foremost priorities. We have done this because of our commitment to social justice as the cornerstone of our philosophy of democratic Socialism, and our recognition that social harmony and lasting economic growth are only possible in a society which develops Its human resources to the fullest extent.

To this and we have:

1. Launched a massive attack on the condition of widespread illiteracy which we Inherited from the J.L.P. The National Literacy Programme has graduated 55,000 persons so far and currently has an enrolment of over 90,000 adults.
2. Provided free education for children up to University level.

3. Increased the enrolment in basic schools from 58,000 In 1972 to approximately 100,000 In 1976.
4. Advanced the school leaving age to 17 and increased the number of children receiving post primary education from 83,000 in 1971 to 151,000 in 1976 and increased total provision of school places in the educational system by 102,000 additional places since 1972.
5. We have expanded agricultural education from two to 72 primary schools, expanded our Technical and Vocational Schools and constructed a Cultural Training Centre providing instruction in art, drama. music and dance.
6. Developed the infant feeding programme and school feeding programme to the point where it now provides for 160,000 children.
7. Established 10 Special Maternity Centres and are in the process of building 29 Health Centres at the following places:

ST. CATHERINE Linstead: HANOVER,
Great Valley, Copse, Sandy Bay, Cacoon
Castle. Lucca: ST. JAMES, Glendevon, I Barrett Town. Johns Hall, Vaughnsfield,
Springfield, Lottery, Catadupa, Montpelier,
Granville, Catherine Hall; TRELAWNY,
Deeside, Rio Buena, Stewart Town, Troy,
Aiberi TOWNS Falmouth: ST. ELIZABETH, Braes River: WESTMORELAND, Delve
Land, Sheffield, Town Head, Negril,
Darlington, Savanna-la»mar.

8. Trained and put in the field over 1200 Community Health Aides and increased the number of trained nurses by 50 per cent and the number of doctors by 10 per cent.
9. Completed and commissioned the Cornwall Regional Hospital, expanded the K.P.H., the Jubilee Hospital and the hospitals in Mandeville, Spanish Town, Lucea and built a new hospital in May Pen. Facilities at Medical Associates have been leased by Government for public use and a similar arrangement is being made with Si, Joseph's hospital.
10. Granted assistance to pensioners through income tax relief, improved rates to Government pensioners and Improved benefits under the National Insurance Scheme.
11. instituted the N.Y.S. and Pioneer Corps as a start towards providing training and work opportunities for young people and helping them to make maximum contribution to our national life.
12. instituted a dynamic Housing programme designed to provide housing of reasonable standard for the low and lower-middle income groups involving -

- (a) The construction or start of construction of some 20,000 houses since 1972.
- (b) The sites and Services Programme –
- (c) The establishment, in collaboration with the Trade Union Movement, of the National Housing Trust providing houses and house improvement throughout the country on a totally fair and non-partisan basis.
Over the next five years it is anticipated that some 60,000 families will receive benefits of one kind or another under the Trust.
- (d) Upgrading the squatter settlements by the provision of roads, water, electricity and security of tenure at very low cost to approximately 20,000 urban dwellers so far.

- (e) Improvement of rent control by revision of the Rent Restriction Law, establishment of Community Tribunals and roll back of rents in low income areas to 1971 levels.

13. Established a Family Court to deal in private with problems affecting family life in Jamaica.

14. Removed the stigma of illegitimacy by passing the Status of Children's Act which provides equal legal status for all children whether born in or out of wedlock.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE

We are committed to the view that neither social harmony nor stable economic growth is possible unless and until the fruits of national production are seen to be distributed in a fair and equitable manner based on the establishment of acceptable minimum standards for all as well as the recognition of the need for a fair reward for individual effort,

To this end we have:-

1. Established a Minimum Wage of 50c per hour - \$20 per week.
2. Repealed the Master & Servant Law and enacted legislation to ensure:

recognition of Trade Unions by Private Firms, adequate compensation on the termination of employment, the right of reinstatement for workers adjudged to have been wrongfully dismissed, and arbitration procedures and powers that can enable the worker to obtain a just settlement of all disputes without resort to disruptive and nationally damaging industrial action.

3. Dramatically improved the earnings of all employees in the Public Sector, particularly for the daily and weekly paid workers at the bottom of the scale.

4. Abolished job discrimination against women by enacting The Equal Pay for Women Act which provides for women to be paid the same as men for doing similar work.

5. Instituted the Special Employment Programme to provide permanent work for 30,000 people and Subsistence for families who would otherwise have been abandoned to chronic unemployment, suffering and despair.

6. Established through the A.M.C., low income shops and mobile units to sell a wide range of basic food items at subsidised prices.

7. Established Jamaica Nutrition Holding Limited to import basic food items at cost which allow for price reductions through the operation of a price stabilisation fund.

8. Established special drug counters at hospitals and health clinic to sell basic drugs at low cost.

9. Provided permanent employment for the Sugar Worker through the Sugar Workers out of Crop Guaranteed Employment Act.

10. Established Sugar Industry Housing Limited to provide low-cost housing for sugar workers in communities which contain necessary facilities for comfortable living.

II. Acquired and distributed 45,000 acres of land to 23,000 small farmers under Probed Land Lease.

12. Established special industrial complexes for small businessmen and provided some \$7.5 million in loans to that sector, In addition to \$16 million to the larger, manufacturing sector.

13. Provided over \$16 million in low-interest loans to over 5,000 small farmers under the Self supporting Farmers development Programme.

14. Enacted legislation to provide for compulsory acquisition of idle lands by bonds or cash and to allow Government to acquire, in the public interest, lands which have been declared idle.

We have begun the process of making our taxation system more equitable by increasing the rates on luxury items of consumption and on static wealth through our new land taxation system while giving relief in the area of income tax through:

- (a) Abolishing surtax
- (b) Providing limited relief for medical expenses, employment of domestic help mortgage interest and increasing the relief for insurance and Unit Trust Savings. As from next year the introduction of the tax credit system will increase the benefit for all personal relief with particular emphasis on persons on PAYE who earn less than \$11,000 per year. No one earning under \$3,000 per year will pay any income tax.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

No country can begin to be economically independent if its major areas of economic activity and its essential public utilities are foreign owned and controlled. When we came to power in 1972 we found:

- (a) The bauxite Industry totally foreign owned and controlled.
- (b) Our major public utilities, light and power, telephones and the municipal bus service in majority foreign ownership.
- (c) Our Sugar Industry and our Tourist Industry contained large sectors of foreign ownership.

Since that time we have:

1. Concluded agreements with the Bauxite Companies under which Jamaica will own 51 per cent of the mining and refining operations carried on in Jamaica.
2. Taken back into Jamaican ownership the land owned by the Bauxite Companies while guaranteeing them the mining rights to the deposits of Bauxite which they will need for their production in the future.
3. Reserved for our use and disposal all bauxite in excess of that which the companies presently operating here will require in the foreseeable future.
4. Commenced in conjunction with Mexico and Venezuela a refining and smelting plant located partly in Jamaica and partly in Mexico and jointly owned by the participating countries.
5. Brought the Jamaica Public Service Company, the Jamaica Telephone Company and the Jamaica Omnibus Service into the ownership and control of the people of Jamaica.
6. Brought the Sugar Industry entirely into Jamaica ownership and commenced the process of organizing the industry on the basis of Co-operative ownership by the workers and farmers. Today some 4,000 sugar workers in 20 cooperatives own 44,000 acres of land.
7. Substantially reduced the element of foreign ownership in the tourist industry.
8. Establishes the first Commercial Banking Institution in the history of Jamaica that is entirely owned by Jamaicans – namely the Workers Savings and Loan Bank.
9. Introduced a bauxite production levy which links Jamaica's earnings from bauxite to a percentage of the realised price of aluminium ingot thereby increasing sixfold our revenue from bauxite.
10. Re-negotiated better and more stable prices for sugar on the European Common Market through close association with the African Caribbean and Pacific group of countries.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

We have strengthened and deepened our relations with the Commonwealth Caribbean through the formation of CARICOM, and bilateral arrangements of mutual benefit with Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Guyana. We have established friendly and constructive relations with our neighbours in Latin America – particularly Venezuela, Mexico and Cuba. Through these relations we have obtained substantial benefits for the Jamaican people, in particular:

- (a) The Venezuelan Trust Fund of \$50 million in long term loans for projects in Jamaica.
- (b) The JALUMEX joint venture with Mexico and Venezuela
- (c) The establishment of the Jamaica Merchant Marine as a joint venture between the Government of Jamaica and TMM of Mexico.
- (d) Assistance from Cuba in: school building the Micro Dam project and in housing Construction.

We have established the position of Jamaica as a firmly committed member and one of the recognised leading spokesman of the Third World group of Countries who are engaged in the vital struggle for a new economic order that will provide a more equitable distribution of world resources between the developed and developing countries. We have established diplomatic and trading relations with the People's Republic of China and they will be providing us with funds and technical assistance to establish a new textile plant in Jamaica in the immediate future.

At the same time we have maintained our friendly relations with the United Kingdom, the USA and Canada who have continues to provide us with financial and technical assistance in a wide variety of projects –e.g. mortgage finance, nutrition bridge building and most recently, a package of financial assistance totalling (Canadian) \$100 million from the Canadian Government.

Our foreign policy has been based firmly and unequivocally on a recognition of Jamaica's position as a developing country and most particularly as a part of the Caribbean and Latin American region on a willingness to maintain friendly and mutually beneficial facial relations with all countries who wish to have friendly relations with us. We have sought, particularly, to strengthen our diplomatic and cultural ties with the countries of Black Africa. The only exceptions we have made in our outward reach for friends and allies is in relation to these countries such as South Africa which practice racialism as part of national policy. To this we are and always will remain unalterably opposed. We regard these initiatives in foreign policy as an essential part of our process of development. We are proud of the fact that our foreign policy has already brought us significant material benefits and will bring us more in the future but we take even greater satisfaction from the fact that we have made Jamaica a progressive and dynamic force among the countries of the Third World and begun the educational process of teaching our people the true meaning of sovereignty and independence.

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

We pledge to continue the programmes in education, health care, literacy, land reform, the development of the cooperative movement, worker participation, housing. In all of these areas our achievements over the past five years have been notable but a tremendous amount remains

to be done. The speed at which we can continue to expand and improve these programmes depends upon two things:

- (a) The political commitment of the Government to human development and social welfare.
- (b) The growth of the total economy.

THE P.N.P has already amply demonstrated its political commitment and we pledge that there will be no dilution of this.

We turn now to the second requirement:

THE ECONOMY

The events of the last two years have demonstrated very vividly the basis of weakness of the Jamaican economy. This weakness arises from:-

- (a) Our heavy dependence on imports of food, clothing, manufactured goods of all kinds and many basic raw materials;
- (b) The extent to which our economy is dependent on export earnings of bauxite, sugar and tourism;
- (c) low productivity which leads to high costs and puts our exports of light manufacture, canned food etc., at a competitive disadvantage, increases the cost of living and makes manufacturing unprofitable.

The basic structural weaknesses in the economy require a two separate but complementary strategies - one for the immediate future, the other for the long term.

- (a) The immediate future

There are encouraging signs that the world aluminium industry is beginning to recover from the severe slump of the past two years. Now that the new agreements have been concluded with Alcoa and Reynolds and are about to be concluded with Kaiser, our bauxite and alumina industry is fully poised to take advantage of this recovery. On the other hand there is no sign of any dramatic improvement in sugar prices. In respect of tourism, while there is reasonable prospect of steady improvement over the next two years, the nature of the industry is such that with the continuing shift to low-cost package tours and the declining importance of individual impulse and luxury tourism, even large increases in the number of tourist visitors will not bring corresponding increases either in foreign exchange earnings or in the profitability of individual hotels.

We must therefore continue the policy of restraining imports for the time being and allowing growth in our import bill to be geared particularly to growth in our bauxite and alumina earnings as this is the only area in which we can be reasonably sure of major and steady growth in the immediate future. Growth in the areas of sugar prices and tourism always has to be viewed cautiously because of the vulnerability of these sectors to unpredictable and largely uncontrollable world market forces.

More specifically:

(1) There must be wages, salaries, fees and profit restraint in all areas of the economy so as to keep our prices competitive. The P.N.P. Government will play an active role in seeing that this takes place. It has to be recognised that wage increases and profit increases must come out of increased volume and lower unit costs brought about by greater productivity and improvements in managerial and operational efficiency. Wage and profit increases brought about by simply raising prices damage the economy, cause immediate hardship to the consumer and do not even help initial recipients because the inflation that is thereby created quickly erodes the value of the monetary improvement.

2) The tourism product will be improved by upgrading of management skills and staff training for all hotels - and intensified programme at beautification of all tourist areas (in particular the central tourist area in Montego Bay) - improved security in tourist areas and improved entertainment and recreational facilities available to the visitor. For the time being the policy of selective financial assistance to well run hotels that are in temporary difficulties will be continued. Hotels will be encouraged to develop profit sharing schemes and worker participation at all levels so as to increase efficiency, incentives for good service and to build up a sense of professionalism, dignity and pride in good service at all levels of the industry. A series of the specific programmes have been already announced to implement these and other policy guidelines for tourism and will be implemented rapidly, with such modifications as experience may dictate.

(3) In Bauxite and Alumina, our partnership relation with the existing Bauxite & Alumina Companies will be based upon the agreements recently concluded with them. We believe that these agreements constitute a fair and equitable base for the continuing growth and development to that sector of the industry to the advantage of Jamaica and of the companies themselves.

In addition the JALUNNEX plant will be completed and become operational within the next three years. We shall continue to actively explore the development of other similar joint ventures with friendly countries and in particular the project with Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana which we see as having enormous potential for the whole Caribbean basin. We shall also continue actively seek new markets for alumina so as to fully utilize surplus capacity in our existing plants. The recently concluded agreement with Algeria is an example of what can be achieved in this regard.

SUGAR

The tremendous improvements that have been effected since 1972 in the wages and social benefits of the sugar worker combined with the restructuring of the sugar industry which has taken the control of the earnings and direction of the industry out of the hands of one sector industry, namely, the Sugar Manufacturers and placed the hands of the S. I. A. representing all sectors in industry as well as the general public provide a security on which the industry can now begin to build its prosperity and to ensure a just and efficient distribution of earnings. A P.N.P. administration will give every asset and encouragement to the development of the co-op principle at all levels of the industry and will stand [sic] make available to the cooperatives the training management skills that they require. We shall continue collaboration with other sugar producers to negotiate [sic] obtain by united effort, fair and stable prices for our [sic] on

the World market. Something has already been accomplished in this area but much remains to be [sic] reputation that Jamaica Govt's spokesmen has estimated over the past four years among other sugar prod[sic] skilled, determined and elective negotiators, ensuring the next PNP administration will continue to [sic] leadership role in the determination of sugar price years ahead and so ensure protection of Jamaica [sic] interest in this area.

Other Agricultural Exports

Our banana and citrus industries viewed as industries have been exclusively geared to the U[sic] and have suffered badly as a result of the continued value of sterling and the depressed state of economy. It is essential for us to diversify our E[sic] markets in these products and initiatives are alr[sic] taken in this regard. More generally the industry plagued by low productivity and unsatisfactory quality. There is no easy or simple answer in the s[sic] is deception to pretend that there is. The P.N.P believes that these industries can make a meal contribution to the national economy and is pledged to give them all possible support required for th[sic] and to continue the practical efforts currently bei[sic] their improvement.

Domestic Agriculture:

In spite of the severe drought over the past domestic agriculture has shown steady improvement rate of progress is still much too slow. A complex and stimulatory action is required. Water [sic] agricultural areas remains the most serious [sic] Better interior roads and improved amenities [sic] came a close second. Our Water Supply Scl[sic] programmers, road programmes and rural el[sic] have all proceeded over the past four years at [sic] scale unmatched in any previous period of our history. We are still far tom our goal however the backlog of neglect in these vital aread which the P.N.P inherited in 1972. We are pledged to give particular priority to these matters in our next administration.

We are further pledged to continue upgrading the operational efficiency of the A.M.C so that it may play an effective and expanding role in giving the farmer a secure market at good prices while setting a standard of fair prices to the consumer.

THE LONG-TERM STRATEGY

Steady economic growth over the long term can only he achieved of we correct the basic weakness of our economy derived from our heavy dependence on imports of all kinds and the narrow base of our export earnings.

We must aim at:

- (a) The highest possible level of self sufficiency in the basic necessities of life – i.e. food, clothing and shelter.
- (b) A wide range of agricultural and light manufacturing exports to supplement earnings from Sugar, Bauxite and Tourism. We see the development of agriculture (including horticulture, dairy and livestock farming) fishing and forestry as to key links in effecting this transformation.

Secondly, we recognise the necessity to set specific and realistic goals for both the public and the private sectors and to lay down standards of efficiency, public accountability and consumer protection.

Thirdly, our concept of the mixed economy involves vigorous and dynamic expansion in both the public and the private sectors. We see no necessity for conflict provided both sectors are working within the framework of:

1. an accepted set of national goals
2. a commitment to the principles of balanced economic growth
3. fair and equitable distribution of what the local economy produces and
4. the recognition that in our present circumstances the full development of the disadvantaged and underprivileged people in our nation must be the number one priority.

We therefore propose:

to promulgate within the first year of our new administration a National Development Plan that —

1. sets realistic production goals and targets for the whole economy within some appropriate time frame.
2. identifies and distinguishes the contribution which public sector and the private sector respectively will be expected to make to these goals.
3. estimates the resources - material, financial and human that will need to be mobilized for the achievement of these goals. Indicates the ways in which these resources will have to be mobilized and the distribution of these resources between the public and private sectors.
4. sets out the operational strategy that will be employed by the public sector in order to ensure proper allocation of these resources between the two sectors and to guide the further distribution of each sector's resources within the sector itself in such a way as to make the achievement of these production goals possible.

Much work has already been done on the elements of this National Plan. Before it is finally settled, however, there will be the widest possible opportunity given for discussion and suggestions for its improvement throughout the country as a whole as well as in Parliament itself.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

The best plans and programmes of any Government can be frustrated and fail if there is not an efficient and motivated Civil Service.

In 1972 we inherited a Civil Service that had been demoralized by ten years of low pay and political interference and victimization, and denuded of any sense of purpose or direction.

Since then we have:-

- (a) established a Ministry of the Public Service charged with the task of modernizing and upgrading the Service and rationalizing the deployment of its resources.

- (b) Granted salary increases at all levels to an extent unmatched in any previous administration.
- (c) Re-classified the service on modern, scientific lines and introduced a merit promotion system.
- (d) Establishes a Civil Service staff College designed to provide a high quality of in-service training for the executive and managerial staff.

We prepare to continue this process of reform and upgrading of the Civil Service with special emphasis on management skills and on developing commitment and initiative.

UNEMPLOYMENT

While recognising that the high level of chronic unemployment which is a feature of Jamaica's economic life (as it is of virtually all developing countries) can only be removed on a permanent basis by sustained economic growth, agricultural development and the upgrading of skills of all levels of the work force. It is essential for the alleviation of suffering and the maintenance of social peace that short term relief measures be maintained and, as our resources permit, increased.

We therefore propose to continue the Special Employment Programme designed to provide employment through the public sector. We accept the criticism that some of this work is non-productive and that more value should be obtained for the money spent.

With the assistance of the Private Sector Organization a number of practical proposals have been formulated to achieve this and these proposals will be implemented at the start of the new programme next year.

We shall be paying particular attention to providing work opportunities for youth in this restructured programme.

BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

We have set out so far the programmes that we have devised and are in the process of implementing to develop our human resources, exploit our natural resources to the fullest, and distribute the fruits of that effort in a just and equitable manner. We have also set out earlier in this document, the achievements and successes that have been recorded in these areas over the past five years and the goals we intend to reach over the next five years. We know that there is a long way to go but we believe that we are moving on the right lines.

The pursuit of material goals alone, however, is not likely to be successful in the long run, unless this pursuit is inspired by some vision of the society we are seeking to create in Jamaica. Only in this way can the maximum energies of the society be mobilized and the right strategic and tactical decision made when we are confronted with alternative courses of action to deal with the practical day to day business of Government. We must know where we are going if we are to move at all.

Our aim to build a nation that: -

1. is only politically sovereign in the technical, legal sense that we are now, but which is in the highest possible degree economically and psychologically independent.
2. Rejects the practice of exploitation of any group or class by any other group or class and affirms both in theory and in practice the principles of cooperation, and of equality of opportunity and of fundamental rights, as the basis on which economic growth and social development is to take place.
3. Recognises that democracy is not just a matter of free parliamentary and local Government elections at fixed periods. In addition, the democratic spirit must inform and permeate all our institutions and practices to the highest degree compatible with necessary standards of order and efficiency.
4. While recognising that no human society can function efficiently or justly in the absence of some system of reward for effort and constructive social behaviour with penalties for the opposite, that system of rewards and penalties must be kept within tolerable limits.
5. Recognises the value and dignity of all work that is honestly and conscientiously done and in particular rejects the stigma of inferiority that now applies to manual work.
6. Places the development of our human resources through education, skill training, health care, nutrition, adequate housing and recreation at the forefront and centre of national policy.
7. Is firmly committed to a policy of non-alignment with any power blocs of the metropolitan world and to co-operation with the developing countries of the Third World with a view to ensuring a fair and just distribution of world resources and of world trade and a balanced improvement in the standard of living of all the peoples of the world.
8. Rejects and will actively fight against racialism in our internal life as well as in any country or society that practises any form of racialism.
9. Values and actively promotes its cultural heritage.

We therefore propose:

- (a) As soon as possible after the elections to convene meetings of citizens and community groups on a totally non-partisan basis all over Jamaica to discuss: the Constitution – how it is functioning and what changes are seen and felt to be necessary in particular:

- 1 We shall seek to focus attention on the desirability of changing from the Monarchical to a Republican system. We, as a party, believe that the symbolism of the Monarchy is at best irrelevant to Jamaica's circumstance and at worst constitutes a psychological barrier to the full development of a national spirit.

We believe it to be of profound symbolic importance that our visible Head of State should in legal and constitutional principle, be the representative of the Jamaican people and not the Representative of the English Monarchy.

- 2 The financing of political parties.
- 3 The extension of integrity legislation to Senior Public Officers in Central and Local Government and on Statutory Boards.

We recognise, however, that these changes should not be seen and felt as just a move in the party political contest, but should emerge out of the largest possible consensus. We are

therefore prepared to spend the time and effort necessary for discussion and people involvement in these and other important constitutional changes.

- (b) To vigorously continue the programme of democratising school boards so as to increase the involvement of the community, the parents, the staff and the senior pupils. To implement the reform of Local Government already outlined by the Minister of Local Government to Parliament and develop Community Councils in every section of the country so as to ensure the maximum participation of all citizens in the handling of local affairs.
- (c) to actively promote and encourage worker participation in the decision making process of businesses and enterprises. Publicly owned enterprises have a special responsibility to set the example and to give guidance to the private sector in this regard by working out and implementing as rapidly as possible forms of worker participation.

Worker Participation: We proclaim our abiding faith in the working class and the workers' ability to make a vital contribution to the nation. As such, we are fully committed to a scheme of workers' participation aimed at the following objectives:

1. The extension of the individual's Human Rights at the workplace.
2. Extending and consolidating social and political freedom in the wider society.
3. The promotion of greater efficiency and productivity in enterprises.
4. The development of a new system of participative management by which working people will have a much more extensive say in the decisions which govern their everyday working life.

CONCLUSION

In this manifesto, we have restated and reaffirmed basic principles that have guided and will continue to guide our Party; we have set out the major accomplishment social and economic development that have taken [sic] since 1972; and we have indicated the ways in which w[sic] lend to build on and extend these accomplishments in the future if given the chance to do so.

We are proud of what we have accomplished so far. I[sic] record of achievement of social reform and econ[sic] reconstruction and development unmatched by any pre[sic] administration in Jamaica's history. It is all the notable for having been accomplished in the context [sic] worst world inflation and economic recession since the end of the Second World War.

We are proud of this record of achievement.

We are grateful for the support and encouragement we have received from patriotic Jamaicans of goodwill walks of life.

We are confident that the programmes and poli[sic] dicated by our record of achievement and outlined [sic] Manifesto are what Jamaica needs.

We say in all humility that we deserve the [sic] continue along the road we have started to a society [sic] and equal opportunity and a nation with dignity and freedom for all its people.

WE KNOW WHERE WE ARE GOING.

APPENDIX 2 – JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO 1976

NATION- BUILDING

NATIONALISM is NOT an alien ideology. It is DESIGNED to suit THIS NATION. It Is based upon analysis of this nation's problems.

Goals of NATIONALISM:

- Higher standard of living
 - Greater social harmony
 - Stronger cultural tools
 - Conservation of National assets
 - Stable Democratic Government

The desirability of these goals is beyond dispute. How to reach them is the question at issue.

When we say TURN THEM BACK we mean TURN THEM BACK, not from sensible goals, but FROM THE ROAD THAT LEADS TO NOWHERE. NATIONALISM proposes six strategies to these five NATIONAL GOALS.

- Equal opportunity and greater opportunity for a better life

NATIONALISM pursues not just a better distribution of the fruits of production but increasing production from which to distribute a better share. NATIONALISM will achieve this by generating higher incomes for that 50 per cent of the population that is dependent on AGRICULTURE for a living, thus securing of once HIGHER PRODUCTION and BETTER INCOME DISTRIBUTION.

- Balanced development of sectors and regions

THE MARKET SYSTEM is to be the basis of Economic development, responding to supply and demand, BUT REGULATED IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST. THE FUNDAMENTAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY will be to provide AN ENVIRONMENT OF CONFIDENCE in which the Modern Urban Industrial sector can grow using largely its own resources. Meanwhile THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONCENTRATE PUBLIC RESOURCES ON THE TRADITIONAL RURAL AGRICULTURAL SECTOR SUPPLYING MISSING SKILLS AND DEFICIENT CAPITAL TO STIMULATE GREATER MOMENTUM OF DEVELOPMENT, AND TO BRING THIS SECTOR INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF A RAPIDLY DEVELOPING ECONOMY.

- Local control of the economy

A Fundamental principle of NATIONALISM is the principle of JAMAICANIZATION OF OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF ALL OUR ASSETS. Foreign capital inflows are desirable to develop and maintain the momentum of growth in the economy. But it would be prejudicial to our interests if foreign ownership and control were to be predominant in the economy.

NATIONALISM requires a MINIMUM LOCAL PARTICIPATION OF 51 PER CENT IN ALL ENTERPRISES.

Where this does not already exist a realistic timetable will be worked out for the transfer of ownership, carefully tailored to avoid Counterproductive disruptions. Transferred Interests to be widely spread to create the MAXIMUM RANGE OF OWNERSHIP In the economy. The whole process will be governed by mutual arrangement and mutual suasion, NOT BY FORCE.

- A just balance between the duties of the State and the Rights of the People

NATIONALISM rejects

That model of society in which:

- The State owns everything
- The State controls everything
- The State decides everything
- Private rights are at the mercy of the State
- Private property virtually does not exist.

NATIONALISM accepts

That model in which:

- Human rights are guaranteed and respected
- Property rights are respected
- Personal motivation is stimulated.
- The stabilization of society

CONFLICT in our society Is not diminishing but escalating. We are seeking stability without paying attention to the causes of instability.

A Major cause of conflict is:

THE DISCRIMINATORY USE OF POWERS OF AUTHORITY HELD BY A GOVERNMENT IN A MANNER WHICH RAISES A SENSE OF INJUSTICE AMONG THE PEOPLE. These abuses of power result in:

. Political manipulation of jobs and other benefits.

. Political manipulation of the electoral machinery

• Political manipulation of the security forces

- Political manipulation of the Government information media.

If we are to have a real chance of reducing politically motivated hostilities

A STRATEGY OF JUSTICE MUST PREVAIL IN THE USE OF A GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY.

AFTER 5 YEARS OF PNP GOVERNMENT...

The PNP Government has brought Jamaica to the verge of bankruptcy. A great question mark now hangs over the future of the country.

During the past 4 1/2 years we have suffered from:

- Over pricing

The average annual rate of increase in the cost of living between 1967 and 1971 was 6.46 per cent. The average annual rate between 1972 and 1976 will approximate 16 per cent. This means the rate of increase in the cost of living was nearly three times higher under the PNP than under the JLP.

It is true that some of this was due to external factors, like the increased oil price. SOME, NOT AT ALL. NOR EVEN MOST.

The first big jump in the cost of living occurred in February 1973 following the unilateral devaluation of the Jamaican dollar - the first ever unilateral devaluation of the dollar. This had nothing to do with

overseas prices. In his budget speech in 1974 the Minister of Finance admitted that 50 per cent of the cost of living increase had nothing to do with overseas prices. Yet the Government had failed to bring this INFLATION under control.

- Over spending

In 1972 the JLP Government left \$157 million in net foreign exchange reserves. In four short years the PNP Government reduced these reserves to \$0. By the end of 1976 the reserves are expected to show a deficit of \$100 million. This means that the PNP Government has brought about a loss of \$257 million of foreign exchange reserves in 5 years. 1974-75 was the first time in the history of Jamaica that a Government failed to find enough money to finance the budget. The PNP Government was forced to call on the Bank of Jamaica to "print" \$25 million. Despite promises not to do this again, 10 million was printed in 1975-76. Indications are that this year, 1976-77 the Bank of Jamaica will have to print perhaps as much as \$150 million more to finance the budget. All this has happened because the PNP Government went on a reckless, wasteful spending spree involving enormous sums of money - without proper financial management.

- Over taxing

In a desperate attempt to find revenue to finance this spending spree the PNP Government has imposed a level of taxation which far exceeds any other period in our history. In four years the PNP Government has imposed \$10 million of new taxes on the Jamaican taxpayer.

This compares with \$20 million by the JLP in the nine years from 1962 to 1971. It is expected that during the current financial year there will be a 4 shortfall of \$150 million in Tax collections. This suggests that the economy cannot support the burden of taxation which the Government has imposed upon it. Over-taxation is helping to hurry the economy towards ruin.

- Over borrowing

The PNP Government has increased the Gross National Debt from \$342.64 million In March 1972 to \$1,021.91 million today an increase of nearly 300 per cent. As a result the amount of revenue which has to be used to service this debt annually has now reached \$117.2 million-more than 4 times what it was in 1972.

- Under production

One result of this fiscal and monetary mismanagement has been a deep depression of the economy. For the first time in our modern history the economy has, in more than one year under the PNP, not just failed to grow: it has slipped backwards, producing less than The year before. This year real growth in the Gross Domestic Product is likely to be at least minus 7 per cent, which means that the country's output of goods and services would have declined from 1975 by 7 per cent.

- Underemployment

A fall in Production in employment on means a fall In 1972 unemployment reached 185,000 or 22 per cent of the Labour force. The present level of unemployment is estimated at 240,000 or 27 per cent of the Labour force. This has happened despite the fact that for two years young people have been withheld from the Labour force because of the extension of the school-leaving age, as well as enrollment in the National Youth Service after graduation.

This withholding cannot, however, continue for ever. Next year the first graduates from the extension period in school are due to come on to the labour market. What then?

Remember also that this enormous increase in unemployment took place despite \$50 million a year spent on the Crash Programme.

THE PEOPLE PROGRAMME

1. The Economy

5 years of DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM has brought Jamaica to the verge of BANKRUPTCY.

The ECONOMY is in DISARRAY. There is NO CONFIDENCE IN THE PNP GOVERNMENT, AND IN TELLING WHAT IT WOULD DO IF RE-ELECTED. Because of this ENTERPRISE is at a STAND STILL.

- The FIRST TASK of the NEW JLP GOVERNMENT will be to RESTORE CONFIDENCE. The JLP reaffirms its faith in private initiative as a necessary precondition to the restoration of confidence - to the restoration of the economy to a firm footing.
- The Party reaffirms its task in the ability of the PRIVATE SECTOR to operate the market system, given that it is ADEQUATELY REGULATED IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST.
- THE NEW JLP GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO
- Stimulate new demand for production.
 - Provide motivation for production.
 - Stimulate new Investment.
 -

Cont'd on Page 11

If there is a simple and singular way to depict Jamaica today, it is to describe it as an uprooted country whose people are seeking roots.

Some are being told that the way to root themselves is to uproot others. Some have long felt that they can find their roots in Africa; others are searching in North America.

None of these are solutions.

One solution cannot be to find a way out of migrating or by quietly folding hands.

The solution must be to find a way in to the problem.

Basically, what is the problem?

The problem in fact is that we have not yet built a nation.

OBJECTIVES,

Nationhood and Nation-building

It took 24 years, with all the combined efforts of this country, with all its internal differences and solidarities to achieve Nationhood in 1962.

Nationhood is now behind us, but it is worth noting for the record, that our two major political parties each played its particular role in the nationalist drive that took Jamaica out of the Colonial era- the PNP by this an early goal, and the JLP by the providing the final definite thrust which took us into independence in 1962.

For 13 years, we have been struggling to [] a nation.

It is this objective that we not turn it.

For 13 years, we have been struggling to build a nation. For the task of nation-building is a long road, often much longer than the task of creating a nation.

It is to this objective that we now turn.

THE MODEL

Every Ideology holds out a model of society as the Ideal order which it motivates the Nation to reach. That ideal model must in the first place fix the goals at which the society should aim and when determine the strangles which would enable their fulfilment.

For it is the combination and consensus of the national goals which inspire and motivate the people, together in a relationship with the State that encourages action by the people, and generates the national spirit to fuel the drive towards the ideal society.

Paramount in this, is a determination of the role of the individual, as well as the role of the State and a harmonious relationship between the two. In the Jamaican context, the goals that must be set in building the nation forwards the ideal society must represent solutions to Jamaican problems.

NATURE OF NATIONALISM

We cannot adopt an alien ideology which is based on principles that are the same the world over, to deal with problems which are not the same the world over.

Ideologies, such as Socialism and Communism, were developed more than a century ago to deal with problems of the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe.

And one factor in their spread to other countries as other times, is the fact that they are available in ready-made packages with objectives, goals and strategies already worked out - often transplanted not only at the expense of personal initiative and human freedoms, but without due regard for local conditions.

It is a far more difficult task for a nation to analyse its own problems, devise its own solutions and wrap up an ideological package of its own making.

But this is what we have set ourselves to do, and in so doing, the Jamaica Labour Party has no doubt that in some areas we shall succeed and in some areas we shall fail and must think again. And the important thing is, that we are able to think again, because we are free to think again, as we are not bound by rigid dogma laid down in doctrine decided elsewhere. If is this ideology, designed to suit this Nation and no other, that we term Jamaican Nationalism.

GOALS

We outline the five goals on which this ideal model of free Jamaican society is based:

(1) Higher standard of living

- FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE

(2) Greater social harmony

- FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE

(3) Stronger cultural roots

- FOR ALLOUR PEOPLE

(4) Conservation of national assets

- FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

(5) Stable democratic Government

- FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE

These goals are not only readily understandable but they are what most nations aspire to. The real area of difference is the nation-building process, not the nation-building goals - the means, not the end.

STRATEGIES

If is the strategies Which we adopt to build a nation, therefore, which distinguish between one nation building approach and another between one ideology and another. These strategies represent a series of alternative choices between different roads which are designed to reach the same goals.

When the Jamaica Labour Party says "turn back," therefore, we do not say turn back from sensible goals, but from the wrong road to get there. We outline now the five strategies required to reach the five goals set out for nation-building.

1. Equal and greater opportunity for a better life.

The emphasis here, which distinguishes this strategy from the Socialist or Communist strategy, is that not only should there be a better distribution of the fruits of production, but also increased production from which to distribute a better share. This is a most fundamental difference. Many development strategies emphasise either growth at the expense of distribution, or distribution at the expense of growth.

In fact, it is theorised that an economy must maintain a consistent rate of real growth exceeding 5 per cent in order to enable better distribution of the fruits of production, without prejudice to incentive and initiative for production. This would be theoretically true in the case of the Jamaican economy as well, except for a structural peculiarity which allows us to proceed both to produce and distribute at the same time without incompatibility.

The least productive sector of the Jamaica economy is the Agricultural Sector. Incomes fall considerably behind the manufacturing, mining, or construction sectoral counterparts. At the same time, it must be noted that so per cent of the population are engaged in Agriculture. Hence, if it were possible to increase production and productivity in this sector significantly, not only would the elective of greater growth of the economy be achieved but by virtue of their improved earnings which would flow from increased production, the incomes of that 50 per cent of the population which is engaged in Agriculture would be dramatically improved. In this way the existing gap between higher and lower incomes would be significantly reduced.

This concentration on lifting lower income groups to higher levels of earning, is known as the 'pulling-up' method. And it is a distinctly different strategy from the 'pulling down' process advocated by Socialism.

The policy emphasis, as will be spelt out later in this document, on achieving the twin goals of 'equal opportunity AND greater opportunity for a better life' will concentrate on:

Lifting agricultural earnings dramatically to provide better earnings for 50% of our people, thus enabling them to enjoy higher standards of living, thereby reducing the gap between the existing standards of living in farming communities and those enjoyed by other sectoral groups.

2. Balanced sectoral development

All developing and modernising countries have developed modern urban industrial sectors from a traditional rural agricultural base. Hence, within every developing country there are elements of a "developed" economy which in the case of many countries have reached dominating proportions in the national economy.

Such countries are generally classified as "middle level countries" having achieved a distinctive level of development side by side with persistent "under development." Jamaica is one such case. The pitfall of the past has been the strategy of using the same development tactics to deal with both sectors.

It is evident that the modern urban industrial sector will respond differently to development strategies specifically aimed at the traditional rural Agricultural sector. In fact, a single strategy can be productive in one but counter-productive in the other.

In Jamaica, this is particularly so; we fall squarely in the middle level category of countries and

The Present State of the Jamaican Economy...

PREFACE

In 1971 the Jamaica Labour Party Government completed a 20 Year Physical Development Plan done in conjunction with the United Nations. It was the most comprehensive Plan ever prepared by a Government. It was never used by the People's National Party. In 1971 the Jamaica Labour Party completed a 5-Year Economic Plan. It was never used by the People's National Party. In fact, in 5 years the People's National Party has produced no Plan. This Manifesto highlights central themes. It avoids a recitation of all the policies and all the proposals covering all Ministries which are usually set out in Manifestos. It concentrates instead on four major problems and the related policies and projects which must be pursued in tackling these

problems:

PRODUCTION

EMPLOYMENT

THE CHILD

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

These comprise the problems which today have reduced the Society to a state of stagnation. As these are people problems, rather than mere material ones, this Manifesto emphasises a PEOPLE PROGRAMME.

From this will flow an integrated plan involving land, capital and people as the resources of development.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE JAMAICAN ECONOMY.

The extent of the collapse of the Jamaican economy over the past five years must be fully realised to really appreciate the magnitude of the task of economic recovery which the Jamaica Labour Party regards as an urgent priority. Over the past five years We have suffered from:

(I) Over pricing

(2) Over spending

(3) Over taxing

(4) Over borrowing .

(5) Under employment

(6) Under production

It is worth exploring these six critical problems.

1. Overpricing

The cost of living galloped out of control between 1972-1976 as compared with 1967-1971. The average annual rate of increase between 1972-1976 will approximate .. 16 per cent

The average annual rate of increase between 1967-1971.. 6.46 per cent.

The rate of increase of the cost of living was therefore two and three quarter times greater under the PNP in 1972-1976 than under the JLP in 1967-1971.

Some of this was due to external factors such as the dramatic increase in the price of oil at the end of 1974, and the international shortages in other basic commodities around the same time.

But we would be deluding ourselves if we excused the extent of the escalation in the cost of living over the past five years as being entirely or even principally the result of external factors only. And If we delude ourselves as to the true reasons we will never find the true solutions. It is a matter of record that:

(a) The first serious jump in the cost of living to 17 per cent occurred from February, 1973; immediately after the Jamaican dollar was unilaterally devalued for the first time in our history. This had nothing to do with external price movements.

(b) in his budget speech of 1974 the Minister of Finance proclaimed that 50 per cent of the escalation in the cost of living in Jamaica was internally caused by local wage and price movements. Yet nothing was done to introduce corrective measures until October, 1975 – 1 1/2 years later, by which time the situation had become totally out of control. . .

c) The corrective measures have still not had real effect. According to The Bank of Jamaica, the lower rate of increase in the cost of living being experienced in 1976 is due principally to a fall in world prices of basic commodities. This means that locally caused inflation is still not under control, because it is the external factors of lower world prices which is causing a lower rate of increase in Jamaica.

2. Over- spending

Through good and bad times all previous Governments of Jamaica have always found sufficient money to finance the expenditure budget. The first time that any Government failed to do so was in

1974-75 when the Bank of Jamaica was called on to "print" \$25 million as an overdraft to enable the Budget of that year to be financed. Despite promises that this device would not be used again, \$10 million had to be printed by the Bank of Jamaica in 1975-76.

Again despite further statements promising an end to this type of desperation financing, all indications show that this year, 1976-77, the Bank of Jamaica will have to "print" more money to finance the Budget, perhaps up to \$150 million more. In addition, Jamaica's impressive financial record of the past for prudent money management has been further shattered by the evaporation of the country's foreign -exchange reserves.

In March, 1972, the PNP administration inherited \$157 million in net foreign exchange reserves from the former JLP Government. In 4 short years the net foreign exchange reserves were zero, and by the end of 1976 these reserves are expected to show a deficit of as much as minus \$100 million, a loss of \$257 million in five years. This type of foreign exchange deficit, in addition to the need to "print" huge sums by the Bank of Jamaica to finance the budget are in effect a position of bankruptcy, a condition which the JLP had accurately forecasted after repeatedly issuing warnings about the financial mismanagement of the country since April, 1973. The cause of this state of bankruptcy is no different from the reasons for bankruptcy in any other operation - spending more than is received. The PNP Government embarked on a reckless, wasteful spending spree involving enormous sums without proper financing, as a result of which Jamaica is now faced with bankruptcy and our proud international image of prudent financial management has been destroyed.

3. Over-borrowing

Not only has the Government indulged in over-taxation, but in over-borrowing. The Gross National Debt was \$342.64 million in March, 1972. Today it is \$1,021.91 million - 3.072 times greater. As a result, the amount of revenue which has to be set aside to service the debt annually has increased 4.14 times to \$117.2 million since 1972.

This staggering debt burden and the collapse of the foreign exchange reserves have reduced the once high credit rating of Jamaica to a 'grade C' country. In turn this rating has imperilled our prospects for future borrowings.

In part this massive national debt has been another victim of the reckless spending spree of the last five years.

Every Jamaican Government must borrow to survive and borrowing money well spent is an investment.

The real problem has been the wasteful use of borrowed funds, yielding little return to help meet the heavy debt incurred.

4. Over-taxing

The PNP government has spent more than it received. It pursued desperate attempts to find revenue to finance the spending spree, and this, was, despite the fact in the past five years the country has been taxed to a level which far exceeds any period in history.

In four years from 1972 \$180 million in new taxes were imposed by the PNP Government. This is to be compared with \$20 million in new taxation in the nine year period 1962-71 under the JLP.

On more than one occasion the Leader of the Jamaica Labour party, Mr. Edward Seaga, warned that the country had reached its taxable capacity. The warning went unheeded until the forecast was fulfilled this year. The \$80 million in new year taxes imposed in February for the current financial year has

resulted in an expected shortfall of \$150 million in tax collections providing that extra taxes cannot be realised, and in fact that there may be a shortfall on the old tax base.

5. Under- production

The end result of the fiscal and monetary policies of mismanagement has been a state of deep economic depression which has reduced the once buoyant economy of Jamaica to a level of four successive years which total zero growth in GDP.

And this year real growth is likely to be as least minus 7 per cent which means that after five years of PNP Government, the country's output of goods and services in real terms would be back to the level achieved in 1971 by the JLP. There must be few countries in the world with so dismal a record of production especially bearing in mind that the decade before 1972 recorded positive rates of growth of GDP.

The effect of this repeated fall in production has been startling in terms of output of a wide variety of industrial and agricultural products. The table below illustrates an extensive range of basic items in which production in 1975 was less than production in 1971, showing the extent of decrease:

Hence, although the population has increased since 1972, less goods have been produced to satisfy demand for a range of basic items. The real situation is in fact worse, as imports have also been cut significantly so that the fall in production cannot be taken up from external sources.

6. Under- employment

Less production means less employment. In 1972 unemployment reached 185,000 or 22 per cent of the Labour Force. The present level of unemployment is estimated to be around 249,900 or 21 per cent of the Labour Force. This is despite the fact that two years of normal increments to the Labour Force of thousands of school leavers have been withheld by an extension of the school leaving age and enrolment in the National Youth Service after graduation. This age group, which would have had a higher percentage of unemployed than the national figure, are not at present included in the critically high level of unemployment but will be commencing next year when the majority of the first wave of graduates from the extension period in school join the Labour Force.

It should also be noted that this enormous increase in unemployment occurred despite Government expenditure of \$50 million a year on special employment crash programmers.

The reason, of course, is that increased employment in the public sector has been more than offset by decreases in the private sector where massive lay-offs and closures have reduced industry, hotels, shops, construction and a large variety of other enterprises to collapse or standstill.

One out of two small rural grocery shops is closed. In some areas two out of three are closed. Some locations reveal three out of four closed.

Dozens of factories have retrenched, failed to employ new staff, or ceased operations. This also applies to major mining operations such as Revere and other major Industries.

Service outlets and other enterprises have similarly been affected.

Construction sites have disappeared from the scene of activity.

Some 39 hotels have been closed (up to the end of October) and the multiplier effect of this is being felt among various categories of resort workers.

And a new category of unemployed has joined the ranks. They are the traditionally employed skilled worker - blue collar, white collar and professional.

These workers have been accustomed to regular employment on the basis of which they have mortgaged their future with monthly payments on house, car, furniture, insurance and so on.

They are now faced with unemployment for the first time and bills to be met without cash or credit.

This new category of unemployed face a desperate future with the prospect and reality of forfeiting

possessions for which they have struggled and saved to acquire over the years. The traditional categories of unemployed face an equally dismal future as they watch closure and lay-offs without any new initiatives of promise of any hope for relief.

Not one major new industry conceived since 1972 has been opened in Jamaica. Not one new mining or refining plant has commenced construction or operation since 1912. Under the JLP regime, it was commonplace to open new factories regularly. Three new Alumina Plants were constructed. One of these has since ceased operations.

New shops were opened, not closed. Major construction sites were in evidence everywhere as part of the booming economy. The toll of the economic collapse and financial bankruptcy in the human terms of unemployment and is resulting distress has been the hardest effects to bear.

Not only have families been jeopardised causing those could, to migrate, but practically everywhere standard of living have been reduced as a result of:

Less foodcrop production

Less goods and services for feed and supply an increasing population

Higher taxes on income, goods and land

Higher costs on good and services to be met from reduced incomes.

This economic squeeze play has plunged Jamaica into a crisis of magnitude which compares with the historical watershed years of 1865 and 1938. The crisis is real. It has denied every attempt of the present Government to overcome it. And it will continue to do so despite any injection of resources because the solution is not to be found in policies of Socialism.

The Economy - An Immediate imperative.

The last five years of People's National Party Socialist Government has brought Jamaica to the verge of bankruptcy, and a great question mark now hangs over the financial future of the country.

The first step in forward planning for the Jamaica Labour Party must be to restore the financial health of the country since any Manifesto published by any political party which is not based on a restoration of buoyancy of the economy is a meaningless statement of cheap paper.

1. The return of confidence

Basic to any restoration of buoyancy in the economy is the return of confidence within the country and in terms of our external image. The critical fall in demand which has taken place over the past 4 years and moreso over the past year has left the economy in a state of shock.

Over this period, 1972-76, as set out in detail in another section of this presentation, the economy has experienced negative change in all the major indicators of economic viability by which the health of a nation is judged.

Over 1972-76

Cost of Living - Negative Change

Foreign Reserves Negative Change

Budget Financing Negative Change

Production - Negative Change

Unemployment - Negative Change

Much of this negative turn in the economy relates directly to the fear generated by the Socialist policies of the Government and to the lack of confidence which this has precipitated. Never has there been a period in the modern history of Jamaica in which the credibility of a Government has been so questionable, and its ability to inspire confidence so minimal. The Jamaica Labour Party has repeatedly affirmed its faith in private initiative as a necessary pre-condition towards restoring the confidence necessary for production.

As an industry which can provide over \$100m in Foreign Exchange, with potential employment opportunities for our people in farming, industry, entertainment, Arts a Crafts and transportation, Tourism will be given immediate attention. Positive steps will be taken to promote the industry and restore the viability of this vital sector of our economy. We re-affirm that faith in the ability of the private sector to operate a market system economy governed by statutory regulatory powers as a brake against exploitation. The expected revival of confidence which would flow into the private sector under a Jamaica Labour Party Government would restore the motivation to generate demand and supply which are virtually missing at this time.

Any injection of capital to fuel this revival of production, however, would have to be carefully managed to avoid inflationary influences and import pressures. This caution would be particularly relevant to the anticipated inflows of capital which would be vital for specific major projects, discussed later in this document. The restoration of buoyancy in the economy would therefore proceed in the context of a managed strategy at a determined pace which could be absorbed without creating new problems.

Because of the extent to which the economy has been reduced to stagnancy and depression, with the heavy burden of an overwhelming foreign exchange deficit and a pressing budgetary deficit, it is obvious that recovery cannot be expected to be an overnight accomplishment.

What would be manifest overnight with a Jamaica Labour Party takeover would be the positive flows leading to recovery:

- New demand for production;
- New motivation for production;
- New stimulation for investment;
- New employment and renewed employment of those laid off.

Tourism

2. The restoration of production

To aid this restoration of the production cycle, several other aspects of productivity will have to be dealt with.

There is, for example, a pressing need to rationalise the bureaucratic framework which now retards the production process by a dilatory web of decisions and permits. That regulations are essential is not questioned. But there is need to integrate the various agencies involved in the production drive as much as possible so as to avoid conflicting decisions. Further, there is a need to set timetables for the decision making process so as to minimise delays which occasion productivity loss.

These and other aspects will therefore have to be examined with a view to creating a smoother flow of performance.

Productivity itself requires serious policy attention.

3. The revival of initiative

A fundamental ideological platform of the Jamaica Labour Party is a system of reward for private initiative and effort. To a certain extent this can be achieved through participation in ownership. Land ownership is a key ingredient to agricultural production, and the Jamaica Labour Party proposes to motivate agricultural production by selling land to farmers on a

Long term basis of smart mortgage payments.

Leasing land to farmers would be regarded as a short term expedient until sale could be effected or where sale is not possible.

As a matter of policy other types of ownership participation or profit sharing schemes would be promoted where possible in order to stimulate a wider spread of ownership, and so encourage greater industrial stability and a deeper vested interest in successful enterprise.

These schemes would not be based on a dogmatic formula, but would be worked out in consultation with [sic] interests so as to ensure maximum agreement, consensus and cooperation.

The Jamaica Labour Party [sic] its states promise to roll back [sic] tax to sensible levels, thus restore incentive to the production sector.

Agriculture

A major proposal of the programme to boost production [sic] be a policy of substantial [sic] for small farmers.

This will have the multiple [sic]

The people programme.....

In this connection the role of the AMC would be revised and expanded to do a far more comprehensive marketing programme. Central to the theme of a dramatic boost in agricultural production will be a comprehensive programme of irrigation of farm lands to cover many thousands of acres, a large scale programme of land terracing to produce flat lands on hillsides for better cultivation of small farms, and a good quality network of feeder roads to get produce to markets. The last JLP Government started the land terracing programme in Manchester, Trelawny and Hanover, on a pilot basis with great success. The same is true of the Feeder Road Programme negotiated by the JLP Government and commenced under its regime, to build over 200 miles of first rate rural roads to link farm areas with markets.

The proposed irrigation programme will be the first major attempt to boost crop production by dependable water supply.

The over-all strategy of these policies and proposals is to revive the ability of the private sector to perform by its own resources, without creating an unnecessary drag on public resources. These resources can then be meaningfully diverted to heavier expenditure in the rural agricultural sector, supplemented by specific project funds to deal with infra-structure and other needs. This heavier infusion of public investment is intended to reduce the traditional gap between the standard of living available to the urban worker, as against the unavailability of roads, lights, water and other amenities available to the rural dweller. The time has come for a massive assault on these rural problems to dramatically lift the standard of living of rural people, if the quality of life is to satisfy that 70% of the population which resides in those areas.

Any focus of attention on 'the people' as the basics for planning, can longer overlook the real need to implement a comprehensive plan for the development of rural infra-structure and amenities, as the means of pulling the rural areas into mainstream of development.

Such a Plan exists. In 1971 the JLP completed a 20-year Physical Development Plan for the comprehensive development of Land. It is the most detailed and thorough Plan of development ever prepared in our history and was based on 30 studies done by the Jamaican Government and the United Nations Development Programme over 4 years. The objective of this Plan was to build 215 major urban townships with all amenities in the rural areas so as to provide within walking distance of each village, the urban attractions which usually lure rural dwellers to migrate to the city.

The Plan also laid out comprehensive development proposals for rural villages lift the standard of living of village residents. This 10 year Plan was never used by the PNP. It will be revived by the

JLP. It is essential to repeat that one of the cornerstones of this JLP Manifesto is the strategy that a dynamic rural economy and a higher standard of rural life, is a major key to national development.

Unemployment

Unemployment in 1972 was 184,000 persons or 22% of the Labour Force. Unemployment in 1976 is estimated to be 230,000 persons or 27% of the Labour Force. As this level the economy cannot be viable, nor the society stable. The problem is not just an economic one. Basically, it is a people problem. The next five years must witness a major attempt to reduce unemployment to more acceptable levels.

The past 4 years witnessed a bankruptcy of ideas to deal with unemployment with the result that the "Crash Programme" has been the only initiative in this field, as poor an effort as it has been. At the same time, thousands have lost regular employment to which they have been accustomed, a new feature in employment in Jamaica. These persons have relied on steady employment in the past to pay mortgages, hire purchase and other commitments. They are salesmen, clerical, factory workers and foremen shop assistants and a host of others. The unemployed who have never had steady jobs are an even more desperate case. To them the frustration of unemployment has reached the limit of endurance. A special case exists with young people and women. Young people now face the added frustration of having GCE and JSC passes but still no work. In the past, these qualifications assured applicants of work. Women continue to be a major part of the labour force and have a much higher unemployment rate than men.

It is obvious that the question of large scale employment to reduce unemployment cannot be left to chance or to the process of normal development flows. The JLP therefore proposes the following protects specifically to provide employment in those areas of the economy and for those members of the Labour Force now experiencing the highest levels of unemployment. In the first place, it is expected that the restoration of buoyancy in the economy which will flow from a change of Government will restore over the next 2 years the 40,000 jobs which have been lost over the past 2 years. But specific protects have been planned for specific categories of workers as follows:

- afforestation on a larger scale
- land terracing on a large scale
- major developments of specific
- new food crops such as cassava for cassava flour
- a national park development programme to develop beauty spots and recreation areas in adjoining hill areas of major population and resort centres. Some of these are Wareika Hills, Hellshire Hills, Belmont (Dunns River Property), the south coast of Westmoreland, the hills of Portland and others,
- export production of garments, furniture and assembly products, rooted cuttings, agricultural by products, etc. in some cases on a contract basis for overseas manufacturers and distributors - these are expected to be large scale programmes.

The above listed projects are major labour intensive projects and would be in addition to the normal employment requirements of the manufacturing, construction, commercial and other sectors arising out of the expansion plans and new investment. The selection of these specific protects as major new initiatives is designed to provide new employment opportunities to cover a range of categories of the Labour Force- rural and urban youth, rural and urban women and rural men. It is considered that urban men will be principally provided for in construction programmers and the normal expansion programmers in mining and manufacturing.

The child – A national priority

Jamaica will have the resources to provide for the wide range of social services required for all the people. These deficiencies are evident in education, health and nutrition, welfare, house and other areas of social development and welfare.

Yet any programme for the development of people must aim at comprehensive social services to attend the needs of communities and individuals. Because resources will not permit an island wide assault on all age groups at one time, priorities must be established. It is obvious that while resources are spread thin to try to comprehensively reach all age groups island wide, we will still continue to produce new generations reaching adulthood only partly trained and short of the other benefits of the social development process. As adults, these new generations will be able to make only limited contributions to the pool of human resources on which the nation must rely for development. This deficiency in the total pool of well trained adults in turn limits the performance of the society and economy, and this in turn limits the extent to which we can equip the next generation.

This circle must be broken if we are to shorten the period which will be required to produce the first well trained and well equipped generation who will be able to make a full contribution to development. A start must be made now in this direction. To do so, priority of expenditure must be established on all areas of services dealing with Children and young people. Beginning with pre-natal care and nutrition to provide the health base for child development, education facilities must be extended to cover the early childhood period comprehensively. This must be followed by upgraded primary school facilities and accommodation to reach the primary school age group fully. It is at the secondary education level that diversification is needed to reach the 180,000 young persons who are not now in any educational training institutions.

The country cannot afford new generations of thousands of teenage unskilled workers entering the labour force without hope. A target of full education has to be set, even though its accomplishment will not be a short term achievement. In the age group 12 – 18 years new initiatives have to be taken to enrol adolescents in various areas of training. A major new thrust in this direction will be the expansion of the Engineering Corps of the Jamaica Defence Force, including women, to set up training camps on a widescale basis.

These training camps will provide related vocational training in an atmosphere of military discipline to produce boys and girls with disciplined work attitudes and basic skills. This training will not include military training with arms, but undoubtedly many of the graduates of these camps will find interest in recruitment into the Jamaica Defence Force, the Jamaica Constabulary Force after graduation. These camps will feed into Youth Camps and Youth Centres which have been abandoned as concepts over the past 4 years. Another new initiative to provide training for the age group 12 -18 years will be a scheme to be worked out with the Productive Sector for apprenticeship training on a wide scale.

Hence, young boys and girls could receive on-the-job training in specific jobs which could lead directly to employment in a range of manufacturing industries. The National Youth Service will be a voluntary service as originally conceived by the Jamaica Labour Party and will be related principally to training opportunities in Youth Camps, schools, etc. Discussions will take place with the teaching profession with a view to concentrating the holiday period in a longer summer holiday as to allow for Summer' Courses at University level for teachers pursuing upgrading and degree programmes.

This longer summer holiday will also provide for National Youth Service programmes in Youth Camps on a meaningful basis. Sports facilities and cultural development will be expanded to reach a larger cross section of the youth population, especially in the rural areas. It is acknowledged that short term benefits from this concept of emphasis on priority in the development of the child will be limited. But national interests call for a far reaching approach to the development of the next

generation. This presentation is not an exclusive treatment of social development programmers required for a total development plan. It is a presentation of a concept of priority treatment for development of the child and the services required for this development.

Human rights and freedoms

Of prime concern to the people is the growing power of the State, and the extent to which this power unbalances the relationship between the individual and the State. This is the basis of victimisation and the abuse of human rights in several ways. These abuses have been adequately described elsewhere. They include victimisation for political reasons, deliberate governmental neglect of performance in the provision of services, unfair trading practices and inhuman acts of brutality. For instance, non-pensionable staff of Government was promised pensionable status by the Jamaica Labour Party Government in 1971 in a Ministry Paper to Parliament. This has been neglected for 5 years it will be implemented by the next Jamaica Labour Party Government, but it is symptomatic of the governmental neglect against which the individual is helpless.

The same is true of the failure to remedy chronic defects such as the dumping of garbage near residential housing schemes: lack of water supply even where pipes have already been laid down but from which water has been diverted for political reasons: failure to provide titles for land transactions: etc. Political distribution of construction contracts or supply contracts for goods and services required by Government are other popular areas of abuse.

Victimisation in employment and other Government benefits have been more widespread in this past 5 years than at any point in our history. Ranking with all these in importance is the brutality and inhuman treatment which the citizen suffers at the hand of the authorities in the name of justice.

The escalation of crimes of violence has in many ways been the most serious abuse of human rights because it limits personal freedoms. The root causes of these situations have already been stated by the Jamaica Labour Party. They are political victimisation, political control of the Police Force, and of the electoral machinery by Government. A dramatic effort must now be made to deal with these abuses which divide the people, by attacking the causes, if this country is to have any hope of being united in the common purpose of building a Nation. The Jamaica Labour Party repeats its pledge to introduce legislation and codes of conduct to deal with these practices.

An impartial Police Commission will be established to free the Police from political control and to effectively fight crime. This is the single most important step which can be taken by any Government to fight crime. In addition, an impartial Electoral Boundaries Commission will be established to ensure that the will of the people is never frustrated. A Fair Opportunities Act and related Codes of Conduct will be written to tackle areas of discrimination in services, awards, and human relationships.

All of these will be under the jurisdiction of a new Ministry of Natural Justice which will have overall responsibility to deal with complaints of abuses and denials of freedoms. The Jamaica Labour Party believes in the administration of Government to ensure basic freedoms, not just to enshrine these in our Constitution. We believe in the democratic right of the people to be associated freely in political parties. We do not believe in a one-party State. We believe in the right of the people to worship as they wish and how they wish. We do not believe in any limitation of this right.

We believe in the right of the people to own property and to pursue enterprise through private initiative. We do not believe in the type of Government which seeks to own and control everything. We believe in the right of the people to have fair treatment from the Government. We do not believe in the use of the authority of Government to subjugate the people and to commit unfair and inhuman

acts in the name of justice. We believe in the equality opportunity for all the people. We do not believe in discriminatory practices and second-class treatment of citizens.

We believe in the right of the people to communicate and criticise freely through the media, and to pursue their own thoughts in contribution to the development of their country. We do not believe to a regime of fear to control the people and stifle opinion as exists in socialist countries. We believe that a Government must plan to be effective, must consult the

people in planning, and must make its plans known. We do not believe in hidden plans.

WHERE IS THE PNP PLAN?

WHAT ARE THEY PLANNING?

We believe in a free, independent and progressive nation, not controlled by foreign influences nor by foreign ideologies. We believe in determining our own way of life, and if in so doing we make mistakes we can think again. And we are free to think again because we are not enslaved by any prescribed foreign dogmatic ideology.

THAT IS THE ESSENCE OF OUR NATIONALISM.

Foreign Policy

Our foreign policy will be geared to a balance of interests with our geographical neighbours in Latin America, our brothers in Africa and our associations with the Third World, our financial friends in the Western World, our trading links wherever established and our cultural community in the Caribbean. We do not propose to develop a fanatic friendship with any country that locks us into organising our country along their political lines. Our foreign relationships must be delicate balance of our wide area of international interests. We do not propose to make new friends by making enemies.

Jamaica will promote the concept of the Middle Level Country in the development spectrum. This is where Jamaica fits. At a World Bank meeting, the present leader of the JLP successfully promoted the concept of a Third Window for the World Bank to deal with Middle Level Countries. This was established earlier this year.

Middle Level Countries which have developed and underdeveloped sectors as their peculiar characteristic, cannot be approached with a single development strategy aimed at the under-developed sector only. This is why it is important to promote this group of countries so as to guide international opinion in our interests.

Balanced sectoral development

Conf'd from Page 4.

not among the 25 Least Developed Countries. The modern urban industrial sector in Jamaica has attracted skills and capital sufficient to enable this sector to generate growth on its own resources, subject to Government regulation of its enterprise in the public good. There has been much deterioration in the past 4 years in terms of available skills and capital, arising out of the Socialist policies which have

made a target of this entrepreneurial group.

Nevertheless, the base has not been destroyed and can be revived, given the confidence of Government support for the Market System economy within which they can be operated with proper regulations. It is important to establish therefore, that the Market System must be the base of economic development, responding to supply and demand, but regulated in the public interest. What is termed Capitalism in its pure sense does not any longer exist in Jamaica except for propaganda purposes. This can be dismissed as sheer Socialist nonsense.

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

What has existed through the 1950s and 1960s is a dynamic system of private enterprise motivated by market factors of demands and supply of goods and

Increasingly all Governments up to 1972 have controlled the operations of private enterprise in the public good. In addition, Governments have participated in certain instances by owning and operating some of the means of production, distribution and exchange in conjunction with efforts of the private sector. This has often been considered necessary to fill a gap or undertake a level of expenditure which the private sector is unable to mobilise. Increasingly, however, over the past 4 years a policy of geared extensive acquisition of and private sector operations has occurred. This makes it apparent that what is intended is a Socialist model of eventual embracing State ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The proposal that what is intended is the establishment of a Mixed Economy of mixed ownership, is decidedly incompatible with the policy directions demonstrated so far by the People's National Party Government. The experience of the past 4 1/2 years, contrary to policy statements in the PNP Manifesto indicates an unmistakable desire for:

The State to own everything

The State to control everything

The State to decide everything

While it is true that we have not yet reached this stage, the country has gained the firm impression that **THIS IS WHERE WE ARE GOING**. By comparison with the modern urban industrial sector, the traditional rural agricultural sector has lagged behind in the rate of development largely because it lacks the resources of capital and skills which gravitate to the urban industrial area. There is a fundamental development strategy to be employed therefore in dealing with middle level countries such as Jamaica where significant developed and underdeveloped sectors co-exist. This strategy is to provide an environment of confidence within which the modern urban industrial sector can proceed to generate growth, utilising its own private resources to the fullest with public resources only as a necessary supplement. Thus the Government concentrates public resources on the traditional rural agricultural sector, supplying missing skills and deficient capital, to mobilise a greater momentum of development, and so bring this sector into the mainstream of economic development. This is the concept of balanced sectoral development.

The inevitable result of this 684 strategy will be that increased revenue from a bouyant private sector will provide resources for Government to divert to areas of unbalanced growth.

But these revenues will not be sufficient as can be seen from the failure of the "trickle down" theory. They must be supplemented by massive injections of capital and skills mobilised by Government, and specifically aimed at improving the standard of living in the traditional rural agricultural sector in a dramatic way. The opposite has been tried over the past 4 years and it has precipitated the greatest economic and social crisis in the country's history. As a result, a stagnant private sector has been shifting its burden to the public sector which has been unable to cope with the requirements of both.

3. Local control of the economy

All small countries, like Jamaica, which have to import capital to supplement local resources must deal with the problem of foreign versus local ownership of Jamaican assets. Private capital inflows formerly totalled some \$100 million per annum net. In the last two years these inflows have been negative, that is, minus \$4 million and minus \$1 million respectively as a result of the socialist policies of the present Government. It need hardly be said that if net capital inflows were now as the usual level of \$100 million, the foreign exchange deficit now being experienced would instead be a surplus. In addition to increasing the pool of capital, such inflows often supply additional technical skills and market know-how. For these reasons, foreign capital inflows are desirable unless the rate of growth of the economy is to be slowed.

On the other hand, it would be equally prejudicial to Jamaican interests if foreign ownership were to be dominant in enterprises in our economy. It was against this background that the Jamaica Labour

Party devised and implemented the policy of Jamaicanisation of ownership and control of our assets. On the basis of this policy, the minimum local participation was 51% although in the purchase of the 70,600 acres of prime sugar lands from overseas interests in 1971, 100% acquisition was achieved.

Most financial institutions and several major industries accepted and complied with these guidelines for Jamaicanisation established by the Jamaica Labour Party Government. In implementing this policy, the Jamaica Labour Party Government required that:

- (a) There should be a realistic time table for counter productive disruptions;
- (b) The transferred interests should be spread widely as possible so to create a wider range of ownership in the economy;
- (c) The whole process should be governed by mutual agreement and moral [sic] not force.

4. A just balance between the duties of the State and the Rights of the People

The point at which most ideologies divide is on the relationship between the individual and the State. Some ideological models make the State a super-powerful unit which is central to all life.

The State owns everything.

The State controls everything.

The State decides everything.

In that model which is the basis of Socialist and Communist societies, private rights are at the mercy of the State and private property virtually does not exist. The contribution of the individual in that type of State is based less on personal motivation than on political pressure to perform. One result is a fall in performance and production.

An even more destructive result is a creeping control over the individual, suffocating personal rights and freedoms. At the other end of the scale is the model of society in which the individual ranks in importance with the Nation. Private rights are guaranteed, but more than this, they are respected. Even constitutional guarantees are not enough, if the respect of the State for private rights is scant and shallow.

Human rights are respected.

Property rights are respected.

Personal motivation is increased and production assured.

When the right to own property is secure, the response of the individual is greatest. Under the Socialist policies of the People's National Party Government, no land can be sold to farmers. The only available land is leased-land which has insufficient security of ownership to motivate production. Similarly, State Farms established by the Government have failed to motivate production and have now been closed because of considerable losses. Recently, the lease-hold lands also began to record production declines.

Of equal importance is the vendetta policy of the People's National Party Government against residential and commercial land, on which property tax increases have been levied to the extent of an average of 400% increase in 4 years. The effect of this has been to destroy the real estate market which has come to a standstill, and in so doing, to wipe out some of the life-long savings of home owners whose mortgage payments no longer reflect value. Personal rights and individual freedoms have come under severe attack in the past 4 Years. This is compatible with the concept of Socialism, in which personal rights are subjugated to the rights of the State. The State becomes a super-power, and individual freedoms while enshrined in the Constitution, are not respected. In some developing countries where the State tends to be a big employer and contractor, it is not unknown for the Executive to exploit its position and discriminate against persons of a different political opinion. This is the basis of victimisation which denies the individual equal rights because the differences in race, religion or political beliefs. This is also the basis of the exploitation of the weak who are unable to assert their rights. Abuses of bureaucracy and of authority, including acts of brutality in the name of justice, are common complaints of the disadvantaged poor.

Extension of the list of abuses would be endless, Suffice it to say that they evolve from the weak position of the individual in relation to the State. Much of this weakness is itself a product of the psychological attitude of dependence on the State as fostered by Socialism. Underlying this, is the concept of the "sufferer" and the consequential mass reliance of the "sufferer" on benefits from the State. The "struggler" on the other hand, asserts his individual rights and relies on himself as a producer.

Over the last 4 years while the "strugglers" battled to be self-reliant, they watched the "sufferers" battle to be State-reliant. Thus, the independence of self-achievement is being rapidly replaced by dependence on State achievement. A strategy to balance the duties of the State with the rights of the individual must begin with promoting the concept of the importance and worth of "the people." and thereafter be translated into constitutional and legislative rights. It is particularly in the area of legislation devised to put teeth in the provisions of the Constitution, that much will be required in the creation of protective instruments. Yet some of these requirements may not be fulfilled by legislation because of practical difficulties.

In such instances, Codes of Conduct would be framed as policy and administrative measures.

5. Stabilization of the society

Nowhere is it more important to deal with the concept of "the people" than where tensions burst into conflicts between "the people" and the State, on the one hand, and among "the people" themselves on the other. Jamaica is experiencing a state of conflict today which is not diminishing but escalating. Yet, if the end which we seek is stability, we are going about it without paying attention to the causes. For at the root of the problem are the motives which start the struggle. The time has come to stop spreading skin-coloured powder on the sore and to get down to the sore itself. Many of the main areas of conflict arise from inter-party political rivalries.

Basically, these have to do with the discriminatory use of power and authority wielded by a Government in a manner which raises a sense of injustice among the people. These abuses of power result in:

Political manipulation of jobs and other benefits;
 Political manipulation of the electoral machinery;
 Political manipulation of the security forces;
 Political manipulation of the Government information media.

The struggles raised by these injustices have been a feature of political regimes over the past many years. If we are to have a real chance of reducing the politically motivated hostilities which spill over into these conflicts, then a strategy of justice must prevail in the use of Government authority so as to avoid and protect against discriminatory treatment.

‘There can be no self-reliance through reliance on the State...’

The Economy

(Coned from Page 2)

Promote NEW EMPLOYMENT and RENEW EMPLOYMENT FOR THOSE LAID OFF IN THE PRESENT PNP INSPIRED SLUMP.

- The JLP recognizes a pressing Need to rationalize the bureaucratic framework which now regards production with REDTAPE and UNNECESSARY DELAYS IN DECISION MAKING.

The JLP Government will also INTEGRATE ALL AGENCIES INVOLVED IN PRODUCTION DRIVES TO AVOID CONFLICTING DECISIONS.

THE MOST URGENT POLICY ATTENTION WILL BE GIVEN TO ALL PROBLEMS AFFECTING PRODUCTIVITY.

Revival of initiative

A FUNDAMENTAL IDEOLOGICAL PLATFORM OF THE JLP IS ITS BELIEF IN THE PRINCIPLE OF REWARD FOR PRIVATE EFFORT AND INITIATIVE. WE BELIEVE IN ENCOURAGING INITIATIVE THROUGH PARTICIPATION IN OWNERSHIP INCLUDING THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

The JLP Government will promote other types of ownership participation and profit-sharing schemes where possible to stimulate a wide spread of ownership, to encourage industrial stability, and a deeper interest in the success of enterprise. These schemes will not be based on dogmatic formulae but would be worked out in consultation with the parties involved.

2. Agriculture

Major emphasis in the new JLP Government's programme to boost production will be on the substantial improvement of FARM INCOME. BY RAISING FARM INCOME DRAMATICALLY

- Farmers will have a new incentive to produce
 - Reduction of the gap between farm income and incomes of urban industrial workers will be reduced
 - . Increased farm production will reduce food imports – relieving strain on the balance of payments.
- Increased spending Power of farmers will lead to greater rural demand for goods and services produced in urban sectors, thus stimulating employment in the cities.

As part of the NEW JLP GOVERNMENT'S drive to promote AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

- The role of the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING CORPORATION will be revised and EXPANDED TO MAKE THE CORPORATION A MORE COMPREHENSIVE MARKETING AGENCY.

A comprehensive programme of FARMLAND IRRIGATION will be implemented. LARGE-SCALE TERRACING OF HILLSIDES will be undertaken to produce flat land on SMALL HILLSIDE FARMS.

- A network of feeder roads will be developed to ensure easy access of all farms to markets etc.

The JLP's 20-year Physical Development Plan.... See Page 7 8

3. Unemployment

JAMAICA CAN NO LONGER TOLERATE A 27 PER CENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AS PART OF THE NAURAL ORDER OF THINGS. - THE NEXT FIVE YEARS MUST SEE A MAJOR ASSAULT ON THE PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The JLP has a plan for such a massive assault on unemployment... See Page 7 -8

4. The Child... A national priority

JAMAICA CANNOT AFFORD NEW GENERATIONS OF MALNOURISHED, INADEQUATELY EDUCATED, UNSKILLED TEEN. AGERS ENTERING THE LABOUR MARKET WITHOUT HOPE. THE NEXT JLP GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE MATTER OF TOP PRIORITY IN ITS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME.

This new programme will feature:

- Emphasis on pre-natal and post-natal care and nutrition to provide the health base for child development

. Expansion of EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES to cover the early childhood period COMPREHENSIVELY.

Upgrading and expansion of primary school facilities to cover the primary school age group Comprehensively.

- Expansion and diversification of secondary school facilities. Accommodation will be provided for 180,000 youngsters now being deprived of this opportunity.

UNDER A NEW JLP GOVERNMENT THERE MUST BE NO CHILDREN FOR WHOM THERE ARE NO PLACES IN SCHOOL.

TARGET - FULL EDUCATION FOR ALL.

THE NEW JLP GOVERNMENT WILL IMPLEMENT NEW INITIATIVES FOR TRAINING YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE AGE GROUP 12- 18 YEARS.

- The engineering-corps of the JDF will be enlisted to set up training camps all over the Island
- wide scale apprenticeship training will be implemented by arrangements entered into with the private sector.
- The NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE will return to being a VOLUNTARY programme as originally conceived by the Jamaica Labour Party.
- Cultural facilities will be expanded
- Sports facilities will be expanded.

5. Tourism

The Tourist Industry can provide over \$100m. in Foreign Exchange, with potential\ employment for thousands of our people in farming, entertainment, Arts & Crafts, transportation and other areas. Positive steps will be taken to promote the industry and restore viability of this vital sector of our economy.

"The beauty, the hospitality and cultural richness of our country as well as the close proximity to North America, the richest tourist market, are resources that should be fully used to improve the life of Our people." Eddie Seaga.

Foreign Policy

For the Jamaica Labour Party, an Independent Foreign Policy is the right to manage our own affairs, to Jamaica's advantage. THIS is what Nationalism means. We are not joining any ideological camp - we are not deserting old, and economically valued friends, and we do not think it is necessary to do so in order to increase our range of useful friends.

Jamaica need have no enemies save the enemies of Freedom and Racial Justice.

Our Foreign Policy will be geared to a balance of interests within our Geographical neighbours in Latin America, our brothers in Africa and elsewhere, our financial friends in the western world, our trading ties wherever established and our cultural community in the Caribbean. We do not propose to develop fanatic relationships with any country to the extent that Jamaica should become pressured into organising our country along alien political lines.

What the JLP achieved: 1962-72

With the coming of Independence In 1962 the JLP Government undertook the massive task of decolonization, it set out quietly and efficiently as to lay the foundations for dramatic social change without social chaos.

National Heroes

- By a way of psychological preparation, the JLP instituted the order of National Heroes to give recognition to the achievements of the great pioneering Jamaicans who devoted their lives to the struggle against oppression.
- It was Edward Seaga, as Minister of Development and Welfare who brought back the remains of that great Jamaican Hero, Marcus Garvey, for burial in his native land.

National Cultural identity

It was under the JLP Governments of 1962-1972, and particularly under the leadership of Edward Seaga as Minister of Development and Social Welfare that:

- Traditional Jamaican folklore for the first time came into its own, Jamaican music was projected and actively encouraged.
- The National Festival was created.
- Plans were laid for the Cultural Complex to foster the performing and creative Arts.

Agriculture

The JLP administration placed top priority on the modernization of Jamaican Agriculture. It initiated a comprehensive land policy, the development of the rural infrastructure, and provided financial and technical assistance to farmers under the Farmers Production Programme.

Land Authorities were created throughout the island.

The Idle Lands legislation was created.

Thousands of acres were put at the disposal of small farmers through a system of Land Lease designed as a short term production measure.

The Farm Road programme was the first systematic attempt to deal with the communications aspect of farm marketing and supply.

The Agricultural Marketing Corporation was created.

Under the JLP administration the higher growth rate ever in Jamaican domestic agriculture was achieved.

Industrialization

The JLP between 1962 and 1972 set an unprecedented trend in the establishment of new industries, creating a momentum that was still in full swing when the party demitted office in 1972.

- Nearly 200 production units were established representing more than \$27,000,000 of domestic and foreign capital, and providing employment for some 12,000 workers during the first 5 years of JLP Administration.

The Small Businessmen's Loan Board was created to provide financial assistance to small entrepreneurs, men and women with ideas and initiative, who would otherwise have been unable to raise the capital either to go into business or to expand existing businesses. The Bureau of Standards was established for the protection of the Jamaican consumer.

Tourism

The JLP Government took tourism from the position of decline in which it found it in 1962 and placed it upon a sound footing. In 1972 the industry was still expanding rapidly.

- Several new hotels and attractions were created.
- A Hotel Training School was set up.

The National Airline, Air Jamaica was created.

- Waterfront development in Kingston. Ocho Rios and Montego Bay were an important part of the JLP's tourism thrust.

Mining and Natural Resources

It was during this administration that a massive expansion of the Alumina industry was undertaken and Jamaica was put on the map as the world's leading producer of bauxite. The JLP effected a deliberate shift system away from the export of raw bauxite towards the increased processing of alumina in Jamaica. Thus securing greater benefits to the country from the exploitation of its major natural resource.

The National Water Authority was created.

Urban development

The Urban Development Corporation was created to project and institute largescale physical development of our urban areas.

Waterfront development schemes carried out by the Corporation in Kingston. Ocho Rios and Montego Bay brought a new dynamic to both public and private sector activity.

Social programmers

The JLP also instituted a number of new social programmes, of which the most important included: The national Insurance Scheme. which for the first time introduced a measure of social security for the great mass of Jamaican workers. By 1972 the Scheme was covering more than 750,000 workers.

HOUSING

The 1962-72 JLP administration was the first Government of Jamaica ever to set about the provision of mass housing for low income earners.

The new approach included the concept of Community Planning. Not only were squalid slums replaced by modern high-rise buildings, the total welfare of the community and the individual was planned for. Tivoli Gardens remains a model for the future development of similar communities all over Jamaica.

Human Development

The JLP Government was firmly committed to the development of Jamaica's greatest resource, its people.

. The JLP Government undertook a massive onslaught against the inequalities and inadequacies of the educational system.

The children of the poor were given unprecedented opportunities for FREE EDUCATION up to the Secondary level.

- Primary school places were dramatically increased.
- Nearly 50 new secondary schools were built in only 5 years.
- » Teacher training facilities were dramatically expanded.
- Vocational and Technical 'training facilities were expanded.
- The Educational system became a prime factor in Social integration.

Youth programmes

The JLP's focus on Youth created:

.Trade Training Centres.

- The 100 village Community Centres offered young people skills, literacy classes etc.
- island-wide development of Youth Clubs.

Youth centres. Community Sports Complexes.

- The National Volunteer Programme.
- The Students Revolving Fund.

Financial management

Skilled management of the nation's finances allowed massive overall development to be achieved without recurring and [sic] burdensome taxation policies.

- In ten years the JLP raised only 20 million dollars in new taxes. `
- in 1972 the Nation's Foreign Reserves were a healthier condition than they had ever been.

APPENDIX 3 – PEOPLE’S NATIONAL MOVEMENT 1976

P.N.M. GENERAL ELECTIONS MANIFESTO 1976

P.N.M. received its first mandate to in govern the General Elections of 1956 to reject the glorified Crown Colony constitution of that year to proceed to internal self government in an Independent Federation.

P.N.M. seeks under renewal of its mandate to govern in the General Elections of 1976 Under the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

From Crown Colony to Republic. This is Trinidad and Tobago 1956-1976 under P.N.M.

- In one word – STABILITY
- People can walk the streets in peace
- Dissent is neither persecuted nor prosecuted
- Religious beliefs and scruples are respected
- There are no ghettos
- There is no disability rooted in race, religion, class or sex
- All - whatever their ancestral country of origin are equals as citizens of Trinidad and Tobago.

The fundamental freedoms and human rights of our citizens are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

- Our press is not muzzled
- We live under no permanent national emergency
- Our General Elections are not postponed
- Political dissenters are not in jail.
- Our Judiciary is free from political interference
- Our judicial process is not tampered with
- We have been spared political violence
- Our citizens have a fundamental right to the enjoyment of property
- Our churches 'face no disabilities, are free to propagate their religious beliefs are welcomed as partners in our education system
- We enjoy religious tolerance and no one sect or creed is favoured over another
- Agreed that our multiplicity of political parties has become a stock joke yet their very existence is vivid testimony to the fact that Trinidad and Tobago is NOT a one- art state.

(iii) disclosure to the Integrity Commission of assets and liabilities by

- (a) Members of the Cabinet, other Members of both Houses of Parliament, Heads and Deputy Heads of Overseas Missions Senior Public Officials.
- (b) Members and Senior Staff of the Tenders Board, Senior Staff of the Town and Country Planning Division
- (c) Inclusion of spouse minors and dependent relatives in these disclosures
- (d) provision to empower Parliament to make additions to the list of offices
- (e) appropriate entrenchment of the above provisions.

Public integrity is also involved in the traditional promiscuity where party allegiance is concerned

P.N.M. PLEDGES

to provide expeditiously for appropriate constitutional amendment requiring an elected Member of Parliament

to vacate his seat in the event he ceases to support, or be supported by, the Party to which he belonged when he was elected.

Two further questions related to Public Integrity have come to the fore The first is the old issue, enshrined in former constitutions, about contracts for or on account of the Public Service. The second relates to the Prime Minister's rules of prudence laid down for Ministers and the reformation requested of them.

PNM PLEDGES

(i) Legislation to discourage conflicts of interests by requiring complete disclosure to Parliament of all contracts, assets (e.g. shares or landholding), sources of income (e.g. as Partner in Manager or Director of or Consultant to any business concern), that might affect, or be thought by reasonable persons as calculated to affect, discharge by a Legislator of his public trust.

(ii) Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries, to whom the foregoing will apply as legislators, will in addition have to make similar disclosures to the Prime Minister so as to ensure that no conflict of interest arises in respect of matters that are within their official purview, and that no personal advantage accrues to them as a result of information to which their office gives them access (e.g. Government acquisition of Land or Companies). Where necessary they may be required to divest themselves of any holdings or relinquish any positions inconsistent with the discharge of their official duties. The specific rules for the implementation of these principles will be made public.

NATIONAL OWNERSHIP

Our second imperative is the acceleration of the pace of Economic Independence and greater National control of our Natural Resources.

In 1956 Trinidad and Tobago was economically - no less than politically - a Colony, even the telephone service was foreign owned. A drastically changed world climate, combined with our increasing revenues from oil, has transformed and is transforming the economic structure of Trinidad and Tobago. In respect of our oil resources, the Government now own TRINTOC, formerly Shell (refinery capacity is being expanded and External Marketing organised), all gas stations, through our National Petroleum Marketing Company; majority shareholding in Trinidad-Tesoro, while discussions with Texaco regarding government participation are now in progress.

The Government now owns the entire Sugar industry the Cement Industry where expansion plans are now being prepared the National Fisheries Company with its own fish and shrimp plants and trawlers, our own National Commercial Bank.

On the basis of our production of Natural gas, a vast restructuring of the economy is under way at Point Lisas, embracing a [sic] industry, an aluminium smelter, a polyester fibre plant, new fertiliser plants, a new power plant, and involving government majority participation.

Total Government investment in commercial enterprises and industrial production stands at \$682M. This raises two Crucial questions for the future divestment of shares and public account- ability.

P.N.M. PLEDGES

(1) that the Government will divest itself of its shares to the general public and to the workers in the industries as it has encouraged local companies to make their shares available and foreign banks and insurance companies to localise.

(2) rigid adherence to the provisions included in the new Republican Constitution regarding Public Accountability by the Government in these enterprises: audit by the Auditor General of off companies in which there is a substantial Government investment, a second public Accounts Committee of Parliament to check on these public investments, and association of the Senate with these Parliamentary responsibilities.

EDUCATION OF OUR YOUTH

The youth of the country, 60% of the total population, now are eligible to vote and be elected to Parliament at the age of 18. Unemployment is very high among youths. A new education pattern has been developed by PNM over the past 20 years designed to equalise opportunity and to provide trained persons for new jobs.

Its principal features are:

- Increase in expenditure from \$12.7M in 1958 to \$161.3M in 1976.
- Increase in secondary school enrolment - eight pupils in 1976 where there was only one in 1956, for every school in 1956 five in 1976.
- The former discrimination against the rural areas in favour of urban has been eliminated and greater equality of opportunity is today the norm. For every 100 students enrolled in primary schools, 8 were enrolled in secondary schools in 1952 and 30 in 1976. Port-of-Spain and San Fernando accounted for 88 out of every 100 secondary school pupils in 1952, but in 1976 for only 38 out of every 100.

The Industrial Revolution now under way based largely on the availability of oil and gas and the higher revenues from both provide opportunities for permanent jobs in new and higher field (as distinct from jobs in the construction plants and in spin-off industries) as follows:

Steel (the basic industry in the modern world) 1070

Aluminium (another basic industry)	1000
Fertiliser – Tringen and Amoco	400
Polyester Fibre	474
Cement Expansion	150
Furfural	100

This requires new areas of training, a radical revision of the curriculum, an enormous expansion of trained manpower at University and professional level, a massive priority to science and technology. Hence the Government decision to increase free education from 3 years in Junior Secondary School as agreed in 1968 by a further 2 years in Comprehensive Schools embracing academic, technological and technical and technical/vocational subjects. The secondary school system will thus embrace:

- Junior Secondary Schools - 16 existing with 30,240 students 6 for 1,040 students under construction and to be ready for 1977.

Comprehensive Schools - 3 existing for 3,120 students 9 schools, each for 1,564 students, under construction at a total cost of \$90M to be ready for September, 1976.

- To deal with the 'O' Level problem - the obsession with academic subjects, the failure to achieve the required number of subjects, and the divorce between work and study a new programme is being introduced to give special training to secondary school graduates with less than 5 'O' Levels to improve their earning capacity by the organisation of joint work-study programmes combining paid work on the job in a factory situation with classroom studies.
- Steps to provide more trained manpower to meet Trinidad and Tobago needs under way as follows:

Additional U.W.I. Medical Faculty and Teaching Hospital at Mt. Hope with Trinidad and Tobago advancing costs and with the addition of Dental and Nursing Facilities at the expense of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

Additional training in the U.W.I. Faculty of Engineering at the expense of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago for 500 additional students at a cost of \$121M.

Measures are being finalised to expand in quality and quantity university training in the field of education to provide more and better graduate teachers for secondary schools.

An Institute of Petroleum Management Committee has been appointed and a work programme is being drawn up. An institute of Banking is being organised.

Government assistance in training is to be provided to the insurance institute of Trinidad and Tobago.

HELPING THE LITTLE PEOPLE

Special attention has been paid by the PNM, as a part of its goal of equalising opportunity, to the needs of the little people.

The principle features have been:

1. Assistance to the Labour Movement, particularly

- The establishment of the Workers Bank in 1972 with Government encouragement and assistance involving a Government equity of \$1 1/2M.
- The Cipriani Labour College, which moved into new head-quarters in 1972.
- Legislation recently passed regarding minimum wages and unfair labour practices.
- Discussions under way with the Labour Movement regarding its involvement in housing, consumer co-operatives, agricultural production and Government divestment of its shareholding in industry.
- One of P.N.M.'s outstanding achievements, the National Insurance Act of 1971, now covers about 250,000 males and 100,000 females, the book value of the investments of the National Insurance fund is \$203 million.

P.N.M. PLEDGES

that it will consider urgently current proposals for reduction of the retirement age, increase of the funeral grant and the maternity grant, extension of the range of earnings covered by the present eight earning classes, with corresponding increases in the retirement, invalidity and survivor's pensions and sickness and maternity benefits.

2. Assistance to small business, dramatised in 1970 when the P.N.M., in its Chaguaramas Declaration, announced the creation of a People's Sector. Some of the highlights are:

- The IDC's small business programme which since 1970 has loaned \$5 million to 504 applicants, half of these in sums of \$5,000 and under the principal areas being garment, manufacture, automotive services, wholesale and retail distribution, furniture and woodwork, food and beverage industries.
- The IDC's factory shells programme, to date amounting to 30 factories for 62 small manufacturers at a cost of nearly \$4M.

Financial aid to consumer co-operatives as follows:

People's Co-operative	\$1.8M
Diego Martin	0.9M
South Co-operative	1.2M
El Dorado	0.4M

- Assistant to the small farmer, with particular reference to the encouragement of domestic food production.
The principle forms of this assistance has been as follows:
- Subsidies for the agricultural sector including crop production, livestock housing, fertilisers, price support amounting to \$6.7M between 1973 and July 1976.
- Loans through the Agricultural Development Bank totalling \$24M between 1973 and 1976, with a soft window in the Bank recently introduced of a further \$2.5M fully committed by June 1976.
- Exemption from income tax of holdings of 50 acres and under.

- Distribution of 2,800 acres of State lands between 1973 and July 1976.
- Purchase by Government of estates for distribution to small farmers or co-operative operation - principally Non Pareil in St. Andrew (\$1%M) and with the Forres Park Holdings, lands in Rio Cfarro and Tobago (\$10.2M).
- Guaranteed prices fore variety of crops.
- Expansion of the Rice industry by an additional 15,000 acres, a rice mill has been purchased but is not yet in operation.
- Negotiations for the purchase of a stockfeed mill are in progress
- Assistance to pig and dairy farmers.

The question of some adjustment in agricultural wages in the context of the disparity with industrial wages is now being considered as one result of the Symposium on the Mobilisation of Domestic Financial Resources. This takes into account the competition of higher rates on Government projects, inability to recruit youth for agricultural labour, the decline in agricultural jobs in consequence from 77,400 to 50,400 between 1965 and 1974, that is to say one-third (as compared with an increase of nearly one-tenth in jobs in all industries), or a decline from 25 to 15% of employment in all industries.

4. With the improvement in revenue in the last few years special attention has been given to the low income group and the under- privileged as follows:

One hundred and two thousand, three hundred (102,300) taxpayers in lower income groups have been relieved from taxation between 1973 and 1975, the tax rebate amounting to nearly \$11 ½ million.

Old age pension of \$14 per month was the maximum. pay- able in 1966 to anyone over 65 whose income was less than \$19 per month. In 1976 the maximum payable was \$60 to anyone over 65 whose income is less than \$2,500 per annum, social assistance to families has been increased from \$80 per month in 1968 to \$134 in 1976.

Government subsidies on basic commodities, to assist in containment of inflation, have been paid as follows between 1972 and 1975:

Rice	\$21 M
Flour	25 M
Other Foodstuffs	5 M
Gasolene	110 M

Price Control has been instituted over a large number of essential commodities.
Establishment of a Legal Aid Scheme.

5. The search for new jobs has been persistent and has gone hand in hand with increased wage rates as follows:

1965 – 1974 - persons with jobs in all industries increased from 304,800 to 331 ,700 - b 9%.

1970 – 1975 - the index of minimum wage rates for manual workers in all industries increased by 78% - being as high as 125% in construction and 101 % in sugar manufacture.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE

In previous years the shortage of funds tended to restrict development in Trinidad and Tobago. The average annual expenditure on the Development Programme was \$55M in 1962-1966, \$7.4M in 1967-1971, \$150m in 1972-1976.

i

The rise in oil prices, combined with increasing production and higher taxes, revolutionised the revenue picture. Total revenue rose \ from less than \$100M in 1956 to approximately \$1.800 M in 1975. in this favourable revenue situation the Government has created several Special Funds in which sums have been set aside to be used only with Parliamentary approval, in a variety of fields for domestic development: foods, fisheries, petroleum, renewal of bus fleet, education, infrastructure, Central Marketing Agency, public buildings, projects, water, roads, housing, sports, drainage, telecommunications, electricity, health, training, recruitment and settlement of nationals, air transport, Caribbean Integration.. The total of such resources thus set aside amounted to \$1 ,600 million as of 1976. The major areas of improvement of the quality of life over the past few years and currently under way are as follows:

(a Health: National expenditure has increased from SC-SOM in 1958 to \$111m in 1976.

(i) the decline in the infant mortality rate

(ii) principally as a result of family planning activities, reduction of the birth rate,

(iii) legislation for compulsory immunisation of school children against polio, diphtheria and small pox.

(iv) increased attention to the problem of environmental sanitation especially in connection with such diseases as gastro-enteritis and with insect vector control principally against malaria and yellow fever, litter control and garbage disposal.

iv) increased attention to nutritional problems especially in respect of infants and school children.

(vi) priority to a rural health programme based on health centres and maternity delivery units - Freeport, La Romain, Toco, Chaguanas, Debe, Roxborough (delivery unit alone), under construction at Petit Valley and Rio Claro.

(b) ELECTRICITY: The two decades have shown a ninefold increase in electricity usage and distribution, particularly marked in respect of domestic use. More recent developments are:

(i) the extension to Matelot, marking a decisive break with the traditional insistence of foreign lenders on the financial viability of the area to be served.

(ii) The allocation of \$38 M for Electricity Expansion and improved maintenance involving the transmission of gas, new gas turbines at Penal, improved maintenance of Port-of-Spain Plant, and steps to decentralise generation throughout the country.

(c) TELEPHONES: Notwithstanding the increase in the number of telephones installed from 25,000 in 1956 to 65,000 in 1974, the deterioration and inadequacy of the service have assume alarming proportions partly because of the extraordinarily long delay in the

negotiation of an international loan for the first phase improvement of an additional 25,600 lines. The work is now under way, financed by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, it is scheduled to cost \$100M. At the same time planning has begun on the second phase, for another 24,400 lines estimated to cost \$50M.

(d) WATER: Water production has increased from an average daily production of 18 ½ M gallons a day in 1957 to 65M gallons in 1976.

The Trinidad and Tobago Government has now assumed responsibility for the first phase of large-scale increased production of water, the Caroni-Arena scheme to produce at least 45 million gallons by 1980 at a total initial cost of \$200M. This is to be followed by another large scheme in the North Oropouche area to produce an additional 45 million gallons by 1985. Nevertheless, the deficiencies of the existing service and the complaints from citizens have become the number one national problem of Trinidad and Tobago. A recent full-scale investigation by a Commission of Enquiry into the Water and Sewerage Authority has been followed by a current investigation specifically into truck borne water system and its abuses now under way.

(f) SPORT and CULTURE: A Sports Fund totalling \$50M, with \$7 ½ M appropriated for 1976, has been set up and work is in progress on 37 recreation grounds in different parts of the country at a total team of experts cost of \$1 2M, with a special team of experts associated with the programme to ensure competent planning.

In tribute to Hasely Crawford for his Olympic achievement Cabinet has voted an additional \$50M for the Sports Fund to provide specifically for a stadium, for the financing of coaching and training facilities, and for the implementation of the major capital recommendations of the Narine Commission.

P.N.M. has given considerable encouragement to the promotion of indigenous culture especially the steelband and calypso, while the Best Village Competition has unearthed much talent in the country and put the remotest villages on the national stage. The best steelband and the winning village have annually been sent abroad as part of their prizes, and the country's participation in Famous World Fairs has provided an opportunity to extend their promotional contacts.

P.N.M. PLEDGES

- to set up a special fund for Culture, with particular reference to assistance to the steelband movement.
- to assist in the establishment of a substantial recording company for the encouragement of local artistes to whom the Government's shares would ultimately be offered.
- to protect local artistes and their works by appropriate legislation.

As part of the programme for improving the school system, the Special Works Division of the Ministry of Works, has undertaken for the past seven months a school maintenance programme including sanitary facilities, structural repairs, electrical repairs, installation of water tanks, painting, cutlassing, repairs to fences and road

surfaces. The programme covers, in addition to Schools, Police Stations and Court Houses.

- (g) TRANSPORT: Towards the goal of a bus fleet of 840 by 1977, 200 assembled buses were imported in 1976, in respect of knocked-down buses 77 were imported in 1975 and 232 in 1976.
- (h) HOUSING: Expenditure by the National Housing Authority on low cost housing from 1971 to 1975, totalled \$51 M - 32M on 3,447 cottages, \$8.7M on 704 flats, \$10.1M from the Unemployment Levy Fund at Maick and Beetham Estate. By September 1975, public dissatisfaction over the non-completion of the programme, the poor construction, the state of the utilities (roads, drainage) reached alarming proportions, and the Government took corrective action. A coordinator, incomplete Housing Programme, was appointed. Then cost of completing the incomplete houses, originally estimated \$9.9M rose to \$18.5M by July 1976, and the programme is still a long way from completion. Of 1,416 houses at Malabar, Pleasantville, Malick, Buccoo, Bentham, Cumana, only 610 have been completed since the appointment of the Co-ordinator.

P.N.M. PLEDGES

* instead of Government construction houses, on the basis of the unsatisfactory methods and inefficient performance hitherto for the purchase of large areas of housing land and the development of the necessary infrastructure, leasing the land at subsidised rates and loaning money for house construction to citizens through the banks and other financial institutions.

(i) ROADS: Between 1971 and 1975 expenditures have totalled \$66.7M in Trinidad, \$8.2M in Tobago. In addition, \$3M have been spent on access roads.

(j) TOBAGO: Special attention has been paid to Tobago, as follows:

- Arrangements have been made for a direct link between Tobago and the outside world by BWIA jet, the inaugural flight of the first plane, named the Hasely Crawford, coinciding with the news of Mr. Crawford's Olympic achievement on July 24.
- A new ship has been purchased for the Trinidad-Tobago run and is due to be delivered shortly.
- The Scarborough re-development Plan is well under way the Market the Post Office, the Regional Library, the New Police Headquarters, the New Carrington Street bridge has been completed, the sod has been turned for the abattoir and the judicial complex.
- The Fairfield Community Complex, the Roxborough Delivery Unit, the Comprehensive School being completed, the distribution of State Lands, the Scarborough Parkway, all testify to the improving quality of life in Tobago.

CARIBBEAN AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

In our foreign relations first place goes to the Caribbean including Cuba, and then the Third World particularly the Afro-Asian countries, every effort will be made to maintain the contacts recently established with Asian and Socialist countries. The policy being pursued may be summarised as follows:

- Active opposition to colonialism in all its shapes and forms, particularly in the Caribbean, and especially in the United Nations Decolonisation Committee.
- Continued opposition to apartheid and racism everywhere, but particularly in South Africa and Rhodesia, and especially in the field of sport.
- Support for all efforts of developing countries to improve their terms of trade and establish a new International Economic order.
- Special attention to Caribbean interests in the activities of the United Nations, the World Bank, the Organisation of American States, and the Inter-American Development Bank.
- Priority to the Economic and Cultural Integration of the Caribbean and to agreements among the countries concerned to pursue common policies.

Caribbean co-operation has involved extensive assistance from Trinidad and Tobago in the following forms:-

- (1) balance of payments support - including a Mutual Support Interim Facility for the Caribbean.
- (2) budgetary aid.
- (3) a Fund of \$10 million designed specially for provision of counterpart funds for the LDC 's to enable them to borrow money from the Caribbean Development Bank.
- (4) purchase of bonds from the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for on-lending to Caribbean territories.
- (5) special arrangements for advance financing for the University of the West Indies.
- (6) contribution to the West Indies Shipping Corporation and LIAT.
- (7) technical assistance on an increasing scale from a Fund created by Trinidad and Tobago for the purpose, with the Trinidad and Tobago Government bearing the costs of salary and displacement allowance.
- (8) contribution to the Caribbean Food Plan with headquarters in Trinidad, and to a specific corn and soya project in Guyana.
- (9) current steps to deepen Caribbean Trade Exchanges – as, for example, the access achieved for Trinidad and Tobago motor vehicles in the Jamaican market. The steel plant and aluminium smelter in preparation envisaged considerable participation of the Trinidad and Tobago finished products in supplying the needs of the Caribbean Market.
- (10) steps have recently been agreed to promote co-operation in air transport, especially at the level of joint planning between BWIA and Air Jamaica, in the context of the substantial expansion of BWIA's fleet and services.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

Especially in its Chaguaramas Declaration, PNM pledged to encourage and promote the participation and involvement of the citizens in their Government. The following have been the major developments in this area:

As Party Level PNM set the example by its consultations with the grassroots of the Party on such subjects as Constitution, Reform, Road Safety, Education, Inflation, Social. Diseases, and a Development Plan for the County of St. Patrick.

National Consultations and Conferences have been held at various levels of the society on such matters as Agriculture, Education, Prices, the Steelband Movement, the Garment industry, the role of Oil in fertilising Agricultural Development.

The most recent and one of the most significant of these consultations was the Symposium on the Mobilisation of Domestic Financial Resources - to meet the need of additional investment funds at a time when loans from International Financial Institutions are becoming less easy to obtain. Among the special studies commissioned by the Symposium were the investment of National Insurance Funds, the adjustment of agricultural wages, measures for the utilisation of school graduates with fewer than 5 'O' Levels, and the reappraisal of the existing tax structure with a view to elimination of purchase tax and reduction of tax on local investors. These reports are now being studied by the Cabinet.

Working Parties (of appropriate experts and relevant organisations) were appointed by Cabinet to consider the entire education system at various levels – including continued participation of the religious denominations, emphasis on the technological, vocational and craft aspects of the curriculum, the shift system in Junior Secondary Schools.

At other levels of citizen involvement, Cabinet has acted associate positively certain organisations with the work of Government as follows:

- Loans at low rates of interest to voluntary organisations for education purposes involving capital expenditure – such as language laboratories, assembly halls and cafeteria, printing and expansion of craft training therein, science laboratories
- Consideration is now being given to the participation of the churches and secular groups as well - in nursery school education.
- The PTAs have been brought in actively into the area of School maintenance programmes, involving identification of deficiencies, planning, supervision of the performance of the labour force to be drawn where possible from the community itself as well as protection against vandalism
- At national level the National Cultural Council has achieved considerable success. The National Economic Advisory Council, possibly because of the diversity of interests represented, has proved somewhat cumbersome.

With respect to the possibility of devolution of authority to local government bodies, generally regarded as desirable if it is feasible, serious problems arise, as follows:

(a) Modern conditions have inevitably led to greater centralisation and the revocation of powers of local authorities in such fields as electricity generation, water winning, police services, town planning, contracts and tenders.

(b) The Public Utilities, deficit-ridden and facing serious problems of efficiency and management, have more and more become areas requiring expertise and professional competence in respect of members appointed to them.

In all the circumstances P.N.M. PLEDGES

- Active encouragement of county citizen committees for such responsibilities as vigilance in respect of maintenance of all Government buildings and installations, visiting committees for hospitals and health centres, regional planning and the

determination of regional priorities for submission to the Government, active study of operations of all public schools, efforts to curb the waste of water, association with traffic control in school neighbourhoods, disbursement of the National Lottery Fund among charities and social welfare projects.

- Continue consultation with citizen groups and organisations on national issues, particularly the sportsmen and the steel-bandsmen.
- Greater efforts to involve the Parent Teachers Association and the Village Council Movement.
- Closer consultation with technical and professional experts and their regular identification with major governmental problems and issues as an effective substitute for the National Planning Commission of Ministers and Officials only, and specifically for dealing with the more intractable problems of Management and Organisation facing especially the Public Utilities.
- Continued exploration of all possible avenues of devolution to local government authorities.

CONCLUSION

This is a summary report on P.N.M.'s twenty year stewardship. This is P.N.M.'s proud record:-

- greater national control of Natural Resources
- vast progress in education
- advancement of the labour movement
- improvement in the quality of life.

Our experience over the twenty years is the best guarantee of continued strengthening of our democratic processes

- greater national direction of our economic development without frustrating individual or private initiative
- sustained measures to develop the potential of our young citizens in work, play, art and study
- continued invigoration of our Caribbean co-operative community.
- relentless action to improve the quality of life of all our citizens.

We of the P.N.M it is we who have taken the country out of the darkness of colonialism into the light of Independence, which has now reached a higher stage with the establishment of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

Long Live the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

May God Bless Our Nation

Power to P.N.M. in our Fifth General Election in 1976

VOTE P.N.M. again in 1976.